This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES
3 3433 07576495 5

George Bancroft

Clarendon Press Series

SHAKESPEARE

SELECT PLAYS

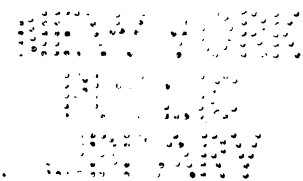
THE TRAGEDY OF

KING RICHARD THE THIRD

EDITED BY

WILLIAM ALDIS WRIGHT, M.A.

Bursar of Trinity College, Cambridge



Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

M DCCC LXXX

[*All rights reserved*]

London

HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE

7 PATERNOSTER ROW

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

LENOX LIBRARY NEW YORK

PREFACE.

ALTHOUGH printed among the historical plays, as the proper sequel to the three parts of Henry VI, with which it is immediately connected in the opening scene, Richard the Third is in all the early copies described as a tragedy. The title of the play as it appears in the first quarto, printed in 1597 without Shakespeare's name, is as follows: 'The Tragedy of King Richard the Third. Containing, His treacherous Plots against his brother Clarence: the pittiefull murther of his innocent nephewes: his tyrannicall vsurpation: with the whole course of his detested life, and most deserued death.' The same is repeated substantially in all the seven subsequent quarto editions which appeared at intervals from 1598 to 1634. The third quarto, printed in 1602, with those that followed, professed to be, but was not, newly augmented. All these have Shakespeare's name on the title-page. In the first folio, printed in 1623, the play is called 'The Tragedy of Richard the Third: with the Landing of Earle Richmond, and the Battell at Bosworth Field.' The quarto of 1597 was entered at Stationers' Hall on October 20. We have thus the inferior limit for the date at which the play was written. How much earlier it was composed is to a great extent matter of conjecture. A line in Weever's Epigrammes (Beloe, Anecdotes of Literature, vi. 159), printed in 1599, but supposed to be written in 1595, mentions Romeo and Richard as two of Shakespeare's well-known characters:

'Romeo, Richard, more whose names I know not,'

and presumably this is Richard the Third and not Richard the Second. If therefore Weever wrote in 1595 there is

evidence that Richard had by that time become an established favourite with the public, and had probably been out for a year or two. This would take us back to the earliest date which has been assigned to it, 1593 or 1594. About the same time there appeared The True Tragedie of Richard the Third, which was entered at Stationers' Hall 19 June, 1594, and published the same year. Possibly it was revived in consequence of the attention which Shakespeare's play attracted to the subject, and in support of such a conjecture may be quoted the parallel instance of the publication of the old play of King Leir in 1605, nearly at the time when Shakespeare was engaged upon his own greater work. A passage from a song which is found in a volume containing Epigrams by Sir John Davies, and Marlowe's translation of Ovid's Elegies (Marlowe, ed. Dyce, p. 366), has been quoted as an imitation of some lines in Richard's first soliloquy:

> 'I am not fashion'd for these amorous times,
> To court thy beauty with lascivious rhymes,
> I cannot dally, caper, dance, and sing,' &c.

But even granting the imitation, this throws no light upon the date of the play; for the volume in which the lines first occur is undated, and is only supposed to have been printed before 1596. Mr. Stokes (Chronological Order of Shakespeare's Plays, p. 30), gives the following from The Mirror for Magistrates, 1594, which have some resemblance to lines in Richard's speech:

> 'God Mars laid by his lance, and took his lute,
> And turn'd his rugged frowns to smiling looks.'

And with

> 'Now do I play the touch,
> To try if thou be current gold indeed,'

he compares

> 'Now is the hour come
> To put your love unto the touch, to try
> If it be current, or base counterfeit,'

from A Warning for Fair Women, 1589. But in all these

cases of resemblance it would be unsafe to insist upon imitation where the things compared are such evident poetical commonplaces. Mr. Fleay (Shakespeare Manual, pp. 20, 21) is of opinion that the wooing of Estrild in the old play of Locrine, which appeared in 1595, is imitated from Richard III, i. 2. But if so, this only helps us to some date before 1595. As our play was printed in 1597 it is unnecessary to refer to the often-quoted passage from Meres' Palladis Tamia, 1598, in which Richard the Third is enumerated among the plays upon which Shakespeare's fame securely rested. The date 1593 or 1594 which may be conjecturally assigned to Richard the Third brings it close to two other historical plays which were written about the same time, Richard the Second and King John. The metrical tests which have been applied to solve the question of the date of composition would place Richard the Third and King John very close together, and would make Richard the Second earlier than either. On such a point I am not careful to express a very confident opinion, but nevertheless I cannot read Richard the Third without feeling that in point of literary style, command of language, flexibility of verse, and dramatic skill, it is an earlier composition than Richard the Second and King John, and separated by no long interval from the Third Part of Henry VI, to which it is the sequel and the close.

The earlier English play on the same subject has been mentioned, and may be dismissed without further consideration. Besides this there was a Latin play by Dr. Thomas Legge, Richardus Tertius, which was acted at St. John's College, Cambridge, as early as 1579. A supposed imitation of this, also in Latin, by Henry Lacey, of Trinity College, proves to be only a transcript (Cooper's Athenae Cantabrigienses, ii. 41). It is to Legge's play, in all probability, that Sir John Harington, in his Apologie for Poetry (1591), and Nash, in his Have with you to Saffron Walden, (1596), refer as having been acted at Cambridge.

For the incidents of the play the dramatist has been indebted to the historian. It may be said generally that the whole idea of Richard's character is taken from his life by Sir Thomas More, written partly in Latin and partly in English, and incorporated by Hall and Holinshed in their Chronicles. In fact these writers stand in the same relation to Richard the Third as North's Plutarch to Coriolanus and the other Roman plays. The play is the historical narrative dramatised, and the only scene of importance for which some hint has not been supplied in the history is the second scene of the first Act, in which Richard wooes the widow of Prince Edward. This and the various appearances of the old Queen Margaret are introduced in defiance of historic truth and probability for the simple purpose of stage effect. From this point of view they are undoubtedly successful, and after so decisive a victory in the opening of his campaign we are prepared to accept everything which follows, feeling that the events are in harmony with the principal actor in the drama, and without any nice questionings about fidelity to human nature or to the truth of history. In Richard's world, the world of the stage, there is nothing incongruous, if we once admit the possibility of his being what he describes himself to be. What this is it requires no subtle analysis to discover. He takes us into his confidence at every step, and tells us not only what he is going to do, but why he intends to do it, so that action and motive are obvious to the most unskilful observer. The Richard of the Third Part of Henry VI is also the Richard of Sir Thomas More, and it is the continuity of his character which supplies the connecting link between the present play and its predecessors. Already in his soliloquy at the end of the second scene of the third Act of 3 Henry VI we have a very explicit confession of his ambitious designs and of the obstacles in his way to the crown, to the removal of which he thenceforth devotes himself. In Holinshed there is no hint of this ; and in the pages of the chronicler, Richard, during his brother's lifetime, only

appears as the gallant soldier and loyal partisan of the House of York. Even when the common rumour is reported that he stabbed Henry the Sixth in the Tower, the deed is attributed to no ambitious designs of his own, but to his desire 'that his brother king Edward might reigne in more suertie.' But it can hardly be said with justice that Holinshed is inconsistent in his treatment of Richard's character when he represents him as brave and unscrupulous.

It was no part of the business of the dramatist to follow the historian too closely or to observe the unities of place and time. The play opens in 1471, and before the end of the first Act we are hurried forward six years to the death of Clarence, which is made to be nearly contemporary with the death of Edward six years later still. In this way however the interval of Edward's reign, uneventful for dramatic purposes, is bridged over, and the catastrophe of the story of the struggle of the rival houses is reached.

The following extracts from Hall's Chronicle will, it is hoped, together with the quotations in the Notes, supply all the historical materials out of which the play was constructed. For convenience of reference the quotations are made from the reprint of 1809. The portrait of Richard as drawn by More is thus copied by Hall:

'Richard duke of Gloucester the third sonne (of whiche I must moste entreate) was in witte and courage egall with the other, but in beautee and liniamentes of nature far vnderneth both, for he was litle of stature, eiuill featured of limmes, croke backed, the left shulder muche higher than the righte, harde fauoured of visage, such as in estates is called a warlike visage, and emonge commen persones a crabbed face. He was malicious, wrothfull and enuious, and as it is reported, his mother the duches had muche a dooe in her trauaill, that she could not be deliuered of hym vncut, and that he came into the worlde the fete forwarde, as menne bee borne outwarde, and as the fame ranne, not vntothed: whether that menne of hatred reported aboue the truthe, or that nature

chaunged his course in his beginnynge, whiche in his life many thynges vnnaturally committed, this I leue to God his iudgemente. He was none euill capitain in warre, as to y• whyche, his disposicion was more enclined too, then to peace. Sondry victories he had and some ouerthrowes, but neuer for defaute of his owne persone, either for lacke of hardinesse or politique order. Free he was of his dispences and somwhat aboue his power liberall, with large giftes he gatte hym vnstedfaste frendship: for whiche cause he was fain to borowe, pill and extort in other places, whiche gat him stedfaste hatred. He was close and secrete, a depe dissimuler, lowlye of countenaunce, arrogante of herte, outwardely familier where he inwardely hated, not lettynge to kisse whom he thought to kill, despiteous and cruell, not alwaie for eiuill will, but ofter for ambicion and too serue his purpose, frende and fooe were all indifferent, where his auauntage grewe, he spared no mannes deathe whose life withstode his purpose. He slewe in the towre kynge Henry the sixte, saiynge now is there no heire male of kynge Edwarde the thirde, but wee of the house of Yorke: whiche murder was doen without kyng Edward his assente, which woulde haue appointed that bocherly office too some other, rather then to his owne brother. Some wise menne also wene, that his drifte lacked not in helpynge furth his owne brother of Clarence to his death, which thyng in all apparaunce he resisted, although he inwardly mynded it. And the cause therof was, as men notyng his doyngs and procedynges did marke (because that he longe in kynge Edwarde his tyme thought to obtaine the crowne in case that the kynge his brother, whose life he loked that eiuil diet woulde sone shorten) shoulde happen to diseace, as he did in dede, his chyldren beynge younge. And then if the duke of Clarence had liued, his pretenced purpose had been far hyndered. For yf the duke of Clarence had kepte hymself trewe to his nephewe the younge king, or would haue taken vpon hym too bee kynge, euery one of these castes had been a troumpe in the duke of Gloucesters

waye : but when he was sure that his brother of Clarence was ded, then he knewe that he might worke without that ieoperdy.' (pp. 342, 343.)

Some hints for the first Act were supplied by the following description of Clarence.

'George duke of Clarence was a goodly and well feautured prince, in all thynges fortunate, if either his owne ambicion had not set hym against his brother or thenuy of his enemies had not set his brother againste hym: for were it by the quene or nobles of her blud, whiche highly maligned the kynges kynred (as women commenly, not of malice but of nature, hate suche as their husbandes loue) or wer it a proud appetite of the duke hym selfe, entendynge to bee kynge, at the leaste wise, heinous treason was laied to his charge, and finally were he in faulte or wer he faultlesse, attainted was he by parliament and iudged to death, and there vpon hastely drowned in a butte of malmesey within the towre of London. Whose death kynge Edwarde (although he commaunded it) when he wiste it was doen piteously he bewayled and sorowfully repented it.' (p. 342.)

The quotation from Holinshed, given in the Notes at the beginning of Act II, supplies the outline for the first scene of that Act. The second scene so far departs from the truth of history that at the death of Edward IV Richard was in the north, and Buckingham, who was in the marches of Wales, joined him at Northampton on his way to London. Lord Rivers was at Ludlow with the young Prince of Wales under his charge.

'The younge kynge at the deathe of his father kepte houshoulde at Ludlowe, for his father had sente hym thether for Iustice to be dooen in the Marches of Wales, to the ende that by the autoritee of his presence, the wilde Welshemenne and eiuell disposed personnes should refrain from their accustomed murthers and outrages. The gouernaunce of this younge Prince was committed too lord Antony Wooduile erle Ryuers and lorde Scales, brother to the

quene, a wise, hardy and honourable personage, as valiaunte of handes as pollitique of counsaill and with hym were associate other of the same partie, and in effect euery one as he was nerer of kynne vnto the quene, so was he planted nexte aboute the prince. That drift by the quene semed to be diuised, whereby her bloudde mighte of righte in tender youthe bee so planted in the princes fauoure, that afterwarde it shoulde hardely bee eradicated out of the same.

'The duke of Gloucester turned all this to their distruction, and vpon that grounde set the foundacion of his vnhappy buyldyng: For whom soeuer he perceiued too bee at variaunce with theim, or to beare toward hym selfe any fauoure, he brake vnto theim, some by mouthe, some by writynge and secrete messengers, that it was neither reason nor yet to be suffered that the younge kynge their master and kynsman shoulde bee in the handes and custody of his mothers kynrede, sequestered in maner from their compaignie and attendaunce, of whiche euery one oughte hym as faithefull seruice as they, and many of theim of farre more honorable parte of kynne then his mothers side, whose bloud quod the duke of Gloucester sauyng the kyng his pleasure, was farre vnmete to bee matched with his, which now to bee remoued from the kyng and the leaste noble to bee lefte aboute hym, is quod he neither honourable to his maiestie nor too vs, and also too hym lesse suretie, to haue the nobles and mightiest of his frendes from hym, & to vs all no litle ieopardie to suffre, and specially our well proued euill willers too growe into greate autoritee with the kynge in youthe, namely whiche is lighte of belefe and soone perswaded . . . . .

'With these perswasions and writinges, the duke of Gloucester sette a fire theim whiche were easie to kyndle, and in especial twain, Henry duke of Buckyngham, and Willyam lord Hastynges, and lord Chamberlain, bothe menne of honoure and of greate power, the one by longe succession from his aunceters, thother by his offices and the kynge his fauoure. These two not bearynge eache to

other so muche loue, as hatred both to ye quenes bloud, accorded together with the duke of Gloucester that thei would remoue from the kyng all his mothers frendes, vnder the name of their enemies.

'Where vpon the duke of Gloucester beynge aduertised that the lordes aboute the kynge entended to brynge hym to London to his coronacion, accompaigned with suche a number of their frendes that it shoulde be harde for hym to brynge his purpose to passe without the assemblyng and gatheryng of people & in maner of open warre, wherof the ende he wyst was doubtfull, and in the which the kyng beyng on the other syde, his parte shoulde haue the name and face of rebellion.

'He secretely therefore by diuerse meanes caused the quene to be perswaded that it was neither nede & should also be ieoperdeous for ye kyng to come vp so strong, for as now euery lord loued other and none other thyng studied for, but the triumphe of his coronacion & honoure of the kyng. And the lordes about the kyng, should assemble in the kynges name muche people, thei should geue ye lordes betwixt whom & them ther had bene some tyme debate, an occasion to feare and suspecte least they should gather this people, not for the kynges saue guard, whom no man impugned, but for their destruction, hauyng more regarde to their olde variaunce then to their new attonement, for the which cause they on the other parte might assemble men also for their defence, whose powres she wyst well farre stretched, and thus should all the realme fal in a roare, & of the mischiefe that therof should ensue (whiche was likely to be not a litle) ye moste harme was like to fal where the least woulde, & then all the world would put her & her kynred in the blame, saiyng that they had vnwysely and vntruely broken the amytie and peace whiche the kynge her husband had so prudently made betwene her kynred and his, whiche amyte his kynne had alwaies obserued.

'The quene beyng thus perswaded, sent worde to the

kyng and to her brother, that there was no cause nor nede to assemble any people, & also the duke of Gloucester and other lordes of his bend, wrote vnto ye kyng so reuerently and to the quenes frendes there so louyngly, that they nothinge yearthly mistrustyng, brought the young kynge towarde London with a sober compaignie in great haste (but not in good spede) til he came to Northampton, and from thence he remoued to Stony stratford.' (pp. 347–349.)

The narrative of the arrest of the lords and the seizure of the young king by the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham is set forth in great detail by the chronicler, and the incidents must have been communicated to Sir Thomas More by an eyewitness, but as they are not referred to in the play we are not concerned with them here.

The third scene was perhaps suggested by a circumstance in More's story which has all the appearance of a personal reminiscence. It is at least an illustration of the thoughts which were passing in men's minds, and follows the account of the death of Edward.

'And so this noble prince deceased, as you have hearde in that tyme when his life was moste desired, and when his people moste desired to kepe hym: Whiche loue of his people and their entiere affection towarde hym, had been to hys noble chyldren (hauynge in theim selues also as many giftes of nature, as many princely vertues, as much good towardenesse as their age coulde receyue) a merueilous fortresse and a sure armoure, yf the diuision and dissencion of their frendes had not vnarmed theim and left theim destitute, and the execrable desire of soueraingtie prouoked hym to their destruccion, whiche yf either kynde or kyndnesse had holden place muste nedes haue bene their chiefe defence. For Richard duke of Gloucester, by nature their uncle, by office their protectoure, to their father greately beholden and too theim by othe and allegiaunce bounden, all the bandes broken and violated whiche bynde man and man together, withoute any respecte of God or the worlde,

vnnaturally contriued too bereue theim, not onely of their dignitie and preheminence, but also of their naturall liues and worldely felicitee.

'And first to shewe you, that by coniecture he pretended this thyng in his brothers life, ye shall vnderstande for a truth that the same nighte that kynge Edwarde died, one called Mistelbrooke, longe ere the daye sprong, came to ye house of one Pottier dwellyng in Redcrosse strete without Creple gate of London, & when he was with hasty rappyng quickely let in, the saied Mistelbroke shewed vnto Pottier that kyng Edward was that night deceased: by my truth quod Pottier, then will my master the duke of Gloucester bee kyng and that I warrant thee. What cause he had so too thynke, harde it is to saie, whether he beeyng his seruaunte knewe any such thyng pretensed or otherwise had any ynkelyng therof but of all likelihod he spake it not of naught.' (p. 346.)

The passages bearing upon the fourth scene of Act II are quoted in the Notes to that scene.

Act III, Scene 1. 'When the kynge approched nere the cytee, Edmonde Shawe Goldesmythe then Mayre of the cytie with the Aldermenne and shreues in skarlet, and fyue hundreth commoners in murraye receyued his grace reuerently at Harnesay Parke, and so conueighed him to the cytee, where he entred the fourth day of May, in the fyrst and last yere of his reigne, and was lodged in the bishoppe of Londons Palayce: but ye duke of Gloucester bare him in open sight so reuerently, saying to all men as he rode behold your prince and souereigne lord, and made such sembleaunce of lowlynes to his prince, that from the great obloquy that he was in so late before he was sodenly fallen in so great trust that at the councel next assembled he was made the onely chiefe ruler, and thought most mete to be protectoure of the king and his realme: so that, were it destiny or were it foly, the lambe was betaken to the wolfe to kepe. At whiche councell the Archebishop of Yorke was sore blamed for deliueryng the great seale to the quene, and the seale taken

a him and deliuered to doctor Ihon Russel bishop of yncolne, a wyse man and a good and of much experience, and diuerse lordes and knyghtes were appointed to diuerse roumes, the lord Chamberlayne and some other kept the roumes that they wer in before, but not many.

'Now were it so that the protectour (which alwayes you must take for the duke of Gloucester) sore thristed for the acheuynge of his pretensed enterpryse and thought euery daye a yere tyll it were perfourmed, yet durste he no further attempt as long as he had but half his pray in his hand, well wittyng that yf he deposed the one brother, all the realme woulde fall to the other, yf he remayned either in sanctuarye or shoulde happely be shortly conueighed to his fathers libertie. Wherfore incontinent at the next metynge of the lordes in councel he purposed to them that it was an heynous thyng of the quene, and procedyng of great malice toward the kynges councelers that she shoulde kepe the kynges brother in sanctuarye from him whose speciall pleasure and comfort were to haue his brother with him, and that to be done by her to none other intent, but to brynge all the lordes in an obloquy and murmoure of the people, as though they were not to be trusted with the kynges brother.' (pp. 351, 352.)

The passages of the Chronicle which illustrate the mission of the Cardinal to Westminster and the discussion which preceded it are quoted in the Notes.

'When the Cardinall and the other lordes had receyued the younge duke, they brought him into the starre chaumbre, where the protectoure toke him into his armes and kissed hym with these wordes: now welcome my lorde with all my verie herte, & he saied in that of likelihod euen as he inwardely thought; and there vpon, furthwith brought him to the kyng his brother into the bishoppes palace at Poules, and from thence through the cytee honorably into the tower, out of which after that daie they neuer came abrode. (p. 358.)

The scene opened with the entry of the young king into

London on Sunday, May 4, 1483, but before the end we find that on the morrow the lords were to be executed at Pomfret, and this is supposed to have happened on the day of the council meeting at the Tower which was held on Friday, the 13th of June. The following passages supplied a hint for the end of this scene and the material for the next.

'Thus many thynges co*m*myng together, partly by chaunce and partly by purpose, caused at length not co*m*mon people onely, whiche wauer with the wynde, but wyse men also and some lordes to marke the matter and muse ther vpon: in so much as the lorde Stanley whiche afterwarde was erle of Derby wysely mistrusted it and saied to the lord Hastynges, that he muche misliked these two seuerall coun[s]ailes, for while we q^{d} he talke of one matter at the one place, litle wote we whereof they talke in the other: peace my lorde q^{d} the lorde Hastynges, on my lyfe neuer doubte you, for while one man is there, which is neuer thence, neither can there be any thing once mynded that should sounde amisse towarde me, but it should be in myne eares or it were well out their mouthes. This ment he by Catesby whiche was nere of his secrete counsail, and whom he familierly vsed in his most waightie matters, puttying no man in so speciall truste as him reco*n*nyng him selfe to no man so liefe sith he wiste well there was no man to hym so much beholdyng as was this Catesby, which was a man wel learned in the lawes of this lande, and by the speciall fauoure of the lorde Hastynges in good aucthoritie and muche rule bare in the counties of Lecestre & Northampton where the lorde Hastynges power laye. But surely great pitie was it that he had not either more trueth or lesse wit, for hys dissimulacion onely, kept that mischief vp, in whom if the lorde Hastynges had not put so speciall truste, the lorde Stanley and he with diuerse other lordes had departed into their countrees and broken all the daunce, for many euill signes that he sawe, whiche he nowe construed all for the beste, so surely thought he that there could be no harme towarde hym in that counsaill entended

where Catesbye was. And of trueth the protectoure and the duke of Bukyngham made very good sembleaunce vnto the lorde Hastynges and kept hym muche in their compaignye. And vndoubtedly, the protectour loued hym well, and lothe was to haue loste him sauyng for feare leste his lyfe should haue quayled their purpose, for the whiche cause he moued Catesby to proue with some wordes cast out a farre of, whether he could thinke it possible to wynne the lorde Hastynges to their parte. But Catesby, whether he assayed him or assayed him not, reported vnto hym that he found him so fast, and herde him speake so terrible wordes that he durst no farther breake: and of a truth the lord Hastynges of very truste shewed vnto Catesby the mistruste that other began to haue in the matter. And therefore, he fearyng leste their mocions might with the lord Hastynges minishe his credence, where vnto onely all the matter leaned, procured the protectour hastely to ryd hym & much the rather, for he trusted by hys death to obtayne muche of the rule whiche the lord Hastynges bare in hys countree, the onely desyre whereof, was the thyng that enduced him to be procurer and one of the speciallest contriuers of all thys horrible treason. Where vpon the lorde protectour caused a counsaill to be set at the tower on the fridaye the thirtene daye of Iune, where was muche commonyng for the honourable solemnitee of the coronacion, of the whiche the tyme appointed aproched so nere, that the pageauntes were a makyng daye & night at Westminster, and vitaile killed whiche afterwarde was cast awaye.' (p. 359.)

'A merueilous case it is to heare, either the warnynges that he should haue voyded, or the tokens of that he could not voyde. For the next night before his death, the lorde Stanley sent to him a trusty messenger at midnight in all the haste, requiryng hym to ryse and ryde awaye with hym, for he was disposed vtterly no lenger for to abyde, for he had a fearfull dreame in the whiche he thought that a bore with his tuskes so rased them bothe by the heades that

the bloud ran aboute bothe their shoulders, and for asmuch as the protectour gaue the bore for his cognisaunce, he ymagined that it should be he. This dreame made suche fearfull impression in hys harte, that he was throughly etermyned no lenger to tary but had his horse redy, yf he lorde Hastynges would go with him. So that they would yde so farre that night, that they should be out of daunger oy the next day. A good lord (q^d^ the lord Hastynges) to the messenger, leaneth my lorde thy maister so much to suche tryfles, and hath suche faithe in dreames, whiche either his awne feare phantasieth, or do ryse in the nightes rest by reason of the dayes thought. Tell him it is playne wichcraft to beleue in such dreames, which if they were tokens of thinges to come, why thynketh he not that we might as likely make theim true by oure goyng yf we were caught and brought backe, (as frendes fayle fliers) for then had the bore a cause lykely to race vs with his tuskes, as folkes that fled for some falshead, wherefore either is there peryll, nor none there is [in]deede, or if any be, it is rather in goyng then abidyng. And if we should nedes fall in peril one way or other, yet had I leauer that men should se it were by other mens falshed, then thynke it were either our awne faute or faynte feble hart, and therefore go to thy maister and commende me to him, & saye that I praye him to be mery & haue no feare, for I assure hym, I am assured [?as sure] of the man he wotteth of, as I am sure of myne awne hand. God send grace (q^d^ the messenger) and so departed. Certeyn it is also that in redyng toward the towre the same mornyng in whiche he was beheaded, hys horsse that he accustomed to ryde on stombled with him twyse or thryse almost to the fallyng, which thyng although it happeth to them dayly to whom no mischaunce is towarde, yet hath it bene as an olde euyll token obserued as a goyng toward mischiefe. Now this that foloweth was no warning but an enuious scorne, the same morning ere he were vp from his bed where Shores

wife lay with him all night, there came to him sir Thomas Haward sonne to the lorde Haward (whiche lord was one of the priueyest of the lord protectors counsaill and dooyng) as it were of curtesye to accompaignie hym to the counsaile, but of truthe sent by the lorde protectour to hast hym thitherward.

'This sir Thomas, while the lord Hastynges stayed awhile commonyng with a priest whom he met in the Towrstrete, brake the lordes tale, saiyng to him merely, what my lord I pray you come on, wherfore talke you so long with that priest, you haue no nede of a priest yet, & laughed vpon hym, as though he would saye, you shall haue nede of one sone: But lytle wyst the other what he ment (but or night these wordes were well remembred by them that hard them) so the true lord Hastynges litle mistrusted, & was neuer merier, nor thought his life in more suertie in al hys dayes, which thyng is often a signe of chaunge: but I shall rather let any thyng passe me then the vayne surety of mans mynde so neare his death, for vpon the very towre wharffe, so neare the place where his head was of, so sone after, as a man might wel cast a balle, a pursyuaunt of his awne called Hastynges mette with hym, & of their metyng in that place he was put in remembraunce of another tyme, in which it happened them to mete before together in the place, at which tyme the lorde Hastynges had bene accused to kyng Edward by the lord Ryuers the quenes brother, insomuche that he was for a while which lasted not long highly in the kynges indignacion as he now mette the same pursiuaunt in the same place, the ieoperdy so well passed, it gaue him great pleasure to talke with him therof, with whom he had talked in the same place of that matter, & therfore he sayed, Ah Hastynges, art thou remembred when I mette the here once with an heauy hart: Ye my lorde (q^{d} he) that I remembre well, and thanked [?thankes] be to God they gat no good ner you no harme therby, thou wouldest saye so (q^{d} he) yf thou

knewest so muche as I do, whiche few knowe yet, & my shall shortly, that meant he that therle Ryuers and the lord Richard & sir Thomas Vaughan should that day be beheaded at Pomfrete, as thei were in dede, which acte he wist wel should be done, but nothyng ware that the axe hong so nere his awne head. In faith man (q^d^ he) I was neuer so sory ner neuer stode in so greate daunger of my lyfe as I dyd when thou and I mette here, and lo the worlde is turned nowe, nowe stand myne enemies in the daunger as thou maist happe to hear more hereafter, and I neuer in my lyfe merier nor neuer in so great surety, I praye God it proue so (q^d^ Hastynges, proue q^d^ he: doubtest thou that) nay nay I warraunt the, and so in maner displeased he entered into the Towre, where he was not long on lyue as you haue heard.' (pp. 360–362.)

'Now was it deuised by the protectoure & his counsaile, that the same day y^t^ the lord Chamberlayne was headed in the towre of London and about the same houre should be beheaded at Poumfrete the earle Ryuers and the lorde Richarde the quenes sonne, syr Thomas Vaughan and sir Richard Haute, whiche as you heard were taken at Northampton and Stony stratford by the consent of the lord Hastynges, whiche execution was done by the ordre & in the presence of sir Richard Ratclif knight, whose seruice the protectoure specially vsed in the counsail, and in the execution of suche lawlesse enterprises, as a man that had bene longe secrete with hym, hauyng experience of the world & shrewed wytte, shorte and rude in speche, rough and boysterous of behauour, bold in mischiefe, as farre from pytie as from all feare of God.

'This knight brought these foure persons to the scaffolde at the daye apoincted, & shewed to all the people that they were traitours, not sufferyng the lordes to speake, & to declare their innocency, least their wordes might haue enclined men to pytie them and to hate the protectour & his part & so without iudgment & processe of the lawe

caused them to be beheaded without other yearthly gylt, but onely y^t they were good men and true to the kyng & to nye to the quene, insomuch as sir Thomas Vaughan goyng to his death sayed, A wo worthe them y^t toke the prophesie that G. should destroy kyng Edwardes children, meanyng y^t by the duke of Clarence lord George which for y^t suspicion is now dead, but now remaineth Richard G. duke of Gloucester, which now I se is he y^t shall and will accomplishe the prophesie & destroye kynge Edwardes children & all their alyes & frendes, as it appereth by vs this day, whom I appele to the high tribunal of God for his wrongful murther & our true innocencye. And then Ratcliffe sayed, you haue well apeled, lay doune youre head, ye q^d syr Thomas, I dye in right, beware you dye not in wrong, and so that good knight was beheaded and the other three, and buryed naked in the monastery at Poumfret.' (p. 364.)

The next extract follows immediately after the account of the summoning of the council to arrange for the coronation (p. xviii).

'These lordes thus sittyng commonyng of this matter, the protectour came in emong theim about nyne of the clocke salutyng theim curteously, excusyng him self that he had been from theim so long saiyng merely that he had been a sleper that daye. And after a litle talkyng with them he sayed to the bishopp of Ely, my lorde you haue verye good strawberies in youre garden at Holborne, I require you let vs haue a messe of theim. Gladly (my lord q^d he) I would I had some better thing as redy to your pleasure as that, and with that in all hast he sente his seruaunt for a dishe of strawberies. The protectour set the lordes faste in commonyng and there vpon prayed theim to spare him alitle, and so he departed and came agayn betwene .x. and eleuen of the clocke into the chambre all chaunged with a sowre angry countenaunce knittyng the browes, frownyng and fretyng and gnawyng on his lips and so set hym doune

in his place. All the lordes were dism[illegible] sore ma[illegible]ry
ueyled of this maner and sodeyne cha[illegible] what thyng[illegible]
should hym ayle. When he had si[illegible] ayle, thus he
began: What were they worthy to [illegible]t compasse and
ymagine the destruccion of me b[illegible] neare of bloud to
the kyng & protectoure of this [illegible]l realme: At which
question, all the lordes sate sore[illegible] ed, musyng muche by
whom the question should [illegible]t, of which euery man
knew him self clere.

'Then the lorde Hastyng[illegible] he that for the familiaritie
that was betwene theim, t[illegible]at he might be boldest with
him, aunswered and say[illegible]at they were worthy to be pun-
ished as heynous traytours what soeuer they were, and all
the other affirmed the same, that is (q[d] he) yonder sorceres
my brothers wife and other with her, menyng the quene, at
these wordes many of the lordes were sore abashed whiche
fauoured her, but the lorde Hastynges was better content in
hys mynde that it was moued by her then by any other that
he loued better, albeit hys hart grudged that he was not
afore made of counsail of this matter as well as he was of
the takyng of her kynred and of their puttyng to death,
whiche were by hys assent before deuysed to be beheaded
at Pomfrete, this selfe same daye, in the whiche he was
not ware that it was by other deuised that he hym selfe
should the same daye be beheaded at London: then
sayed the protectour in what wyse that sorceresse and
other of her counsayle, as Shores wyfe with her affinitie
haue by their sorcery and witchecrafte this wasted my
body, and therwith plucked vp his doublet sleue to
his elbowe on hys lefte arme, where he shewed a weryshe
wythered arme & small as it was neuer other. And ther-
upon, euery mannes mynde mysgaue theim, well perceyuyng
that this matter was but a quarell, for well they wist that
the quene was both to wyse to go about any such folye,
& also if she would, yet would she of all folke make
Shores wyfe least of her counsaile whom of all women she

most hated as that concubine whom the kyng her husband most loued.

'Alas, there was no manne there but knewe that hys arme was euer such sith the day of his birth. Neuerthelesse the lorde Hastynges, which from the death of kyng Edward kept Shores wife, whom he somwhat doted in the kynges lyfe, sauyng it is sayed that he forbare her for reuerence towarde his kyng, or els of a certayne kynde of fidelitie towarde his frend. Yet nowe his hart somewhat grudged to haue her whom he loued so highly accused, and that as he knewe well vntruely, therefore he aunswered and sayed, certaynly my lorde, yf they haue so done, they be worthy of heynous punishement, what q^d the protectour, thou seruest me I wene with yf and with and, I tell the they haue done it, and that wyll I make good on thy bodye traytour. And therewith (as in a great anger) he clapped his fyste on the borde a great rappe, at which token geuen, one cried treason without the chamber, and therwith a doore clapped, and in came rushyng men in harneyes as many as the chamber could hold. And anone the protectoure sayed to the lorde Hastynges, I arrest the traytoure, what me my lord q^d he: yea the traytoure q^d the protectour. And one let flye at the lorde Stanley, which shroncke at the stroacke and fell vnder the table, or els hys head had bene cleft to the teth, for as shortly as he shrancke, yet ranne the blood aboute his eares. Then was the Archebishop of Yorke and doctour Morton bishopp of Ely & the lorde Stanley taken and diuers other whiche were bestowed in dyuers chambers, saue the lorde Hastynges (whom the protectour commaunded to spede and shryue him apace) for by sainct Poule (q^d he) I wyll not dyne tyll I se thy head of, it boted hym not to aske why, but heuily he toke a priest at auenture and made a shorte shrift, for a lenger woulde not be suffered, the protectour made so much hast to his dyner, which might not go to it tyll this murther were done, for sauyng of hys vngracious othe. So was he brought furthe into the grene besyde the

chapel within the towre, and his head layed doung Henry logge of tymber that lay there for buildyng of the chrealme, there tyrannously striken of, and after his body anche for wer enterred at Wyndesore by his maister kyng Edwarwike forth, whose soules Iesu pardon. Amen.' (pp. 359, 360.)

'Nowe flewe the fame of thys lordes death through tha cytie and farther about, lyke a wynde in euery mans earn but the Protectoure immediatly after dyner (entending to set some colour vpon the matter) sent in all the haste for many substancial men out of the cytie into the Towre, and at their commyng him selfe with the duke of Buckyngham stode, harnessed in olde euill fauored briganders, such as no man would wene that they would haue vouchesafed to haue put on their backes, excepte some sodeyne necessitie had constraigned them. Then the lord protector shewed them, that the lord Hastynges & other of his conspiracy had contriued to haue sodeynly destroyed hym and the duke of Buckyngham there the same daie in counsail, and what they entended farther, was not yet well knowen, of whiche their treason he had neuer knowledge before .x. of the clocke the same forenone, which sodeyn feare draue them to put on suche harnesse as came nexte to their handes for their defence, and so God holpe them, that the mischiefe turned vpon them that woulde haue done it, & thus he required them to report. Euery man answered fayre, as though no man mistrusted the matter, which of trueth no man beleued. Yet for the further appeasyng of the peoples myndes, he sent immediatly after dynner an Heralde of armes with a proclamacion through the cytie of London which was proclaymed in the kynges name, that the lord Hastynges with diuers other of his trayterous purpose had before conspired, the same daye to haue slayne the protectour and the duke of Buckyngham sittyng in counsaill, & after to haue taken vpon them the rule of the kyng and the realme at their pleasure, and thereby to pill and spoyle whom they lyst vncomptrolled, & muche matter was deuised in the same

cion to the slaunder of the lord Hastynges, as that
ost ha an euyll counsailoure to the kynges father, entisyng
ost l many thynges highly redoundyng to the diminishyng
'Al honoure and to the vniuersall hurte of his realme
was is euyll compaignie and sinister procuryng and vngracious
lor ample, aswell in many other thynges as in vicious liuyng
nd inordinate abusyon of his body, bothe with many other
and especiall with Shores wyfe whiche was one of his secrete
counsaill of this heynous treason, with whom he laye nightly,
and namely the night passed next before his death, so that
it was the lesse marueill yf vngracious liuynge brought hym
to an vnhappy ende, whiche he was now put to by the
co*m*maundeme*n*t of the kyng his highnes and of his honor-
able and faithfull counsaile, bothe for his demerites beynge
so openly taken in his false co*n*triued treason, and also least
the delaiyng of his execucion might haue encoraged other
mischieuous persons parteners of hys conspiracye, to gather
and assemble them selues together in makyng so great com-
mocion for hys deliueraunce, whose hope nowe beyng by
his well deserued death pollytickely repressed, all the realme
shall by Goddes grace rest in good quyet and peace. Nowe
was thys proclamacion made within twoo houres after he
was beheaded, and it was so curiously endyted and so fayre
writen in Parchement in a fayre sette hande, and therewith
of it selfe so long a processe, that euery chyld might perceyue
that it was prepared and studyed before (and as some men
thought, by Catesby) for all the tyme betwene hys death and
the proclamacion proclaimyng, coulde skant haue suffyced
vnto the bare wrytyng alone, albeit that it had bene in
paper and scribeled furthe in haste at aduenture. So that
vpon the proclaimyng thereof, one that was scolemayster
at Paules standyng by and comparyng the shortenesse of
the tyme with the length of the matter sayed to theim that
stoode aboute hym, here is a gaye goodly cast, foule cast
awaye for hast.' (pp. 362, 363.)

'When the lord Hastynges and these other lordes and

knightes were thus beheaded and ryd out of the ng Henry the protectour caused it to be proclaymed that the co. realme, for diuers great and vrgent causes should be deferthe for the seconde daye of Nouember, for then thought herwike whyle men mused what the matter meant, and whileche lordes of the realme were about him, out of their awna strengthes, and whyle no man wyste what to thynke nen whom to truste, or euer they should haue tyme and space to digest the matter, and make partes, it were best hastely to pursue his purpose and put hym self in possession of the croune, or menne could haue tyme to deuyse any wyse to resyste. But nowe was all the study, this matter beyng of it selfe so heynous might be first broken to the people in suche wyse as it might well be taken. To this counsaile they toke diuerse such as they thought mete to be trusted and likely to be enduced to that parte and hable to stand theim in steade, eyther by powre or by polycye. Emong whom, they made a counsaile, Edmond Shaa then Mayre of London, whiche vpon truste of hys awne auauncement, where he was of a proude harte highly desirous, toke on him to frame the cytie to their appetite. Of spirituall men they toke suche as had wytte, and were in aucthority emongest the people for opinion of their learnyng, and had no scrupulous conscience. Emongest these had, they toke Raffe Shaa clearke brother to the Mayre, & Freer, Pynkie[1] prouinciall of the Augustine Freers, bothe doctours in diuinitie, bothe great preachers, bothe of more learnyng than vertue, of more fame then learnyng, & yet of more learnyng then trueth. For they were before greatly esteemed emong the people, but after that, neuer none of these two were regarded. Shaa made a sermonde in prayse of the Protectour before the coronacion, and Pynkye made one after the coronacion, bothe so full of tedious flattery, that no good mans eares coulde abyde them, Pynkye in his sermonde so loste his voyce that he was fayne to leaue

[1] 'frier Penker' in Holinshed.

moost ha[illegible]me doune in the middest, Doctoure Shaa by his moost l[illegible]e loste his honesty, and sone after his lyfe, for very 'Al[illegible]of the worlde, into the whiche he durst neuer after so was[illegible]e come abroade, but the Freer forced[1] for no shame, lor[illegible] so it harmed hym the lesse. Howbeit, some doubt and k[illegible]ny thynke that Pynkey was not of counsaill before the coronacion, but after the common maner fell to flattery after, namely because his sermond was not incontinent vpon it, but at sainct Mary Spittle the Easter after. But certayne it is that doctour Shaa was of counsail in the beginnyng, in so much that they determyned that he should fyrst breake the matter in a sermond at Poules crosse, in whiche he should by the aucthoritie of hys preachyng induce the people to encline to ye protectours ghostly purpose. But now was all the laboure and study in the deuise of some conuenient pretexte, for which the people should be content to depose the prince & accept the protectour for kyng. In which diuerse thinges they deuised, but the chief thyng, & the weight of all that inuencion rested in this, that they shoulde allege bastardy in kyng Edwarde hym selfe, or in his chyldren, or bothe, so that he should seme disabled to enherite the croune by the duke of Yorke and the prince by him. To lay bastardy in kyng Edward sounded openly to the rebuke of the protectours awne mother, whiche was mother to them bothe. For in that poinct could be none other coloure, but to pretende that his awne mother was an auoutresse[2], but neuerthelesse he would that poinct should be lesse and more fynely & closely handled, not euen fully playne and directely, but touched a slope craftely, as though men spared in that poinct to speake all the trueth for feare of his displeasure. But that other poincte concernyng the basterdy they deuised to surmysse in kyng Edward his chyldren, that would he should be openly declared and enforced to the vttermost.' (pp. 364, 365.)

[1] cared. [2] adulteress.

'After kyng Edwarde the fourthe had deposed kyng Henry the sixte and was in peaceable possession of the realme, determinyng him selfe to mary (as was requisite) bothe for hym selfe and for the realme, he sente therle of Warwike & diuerse other noble men in ambassade to the Frenche kyng to entreate a mariage betwene the kyng and Bona sister to the Frenche quene, then beyng in Fraunce. In which thyng therle of Warwike founde the parties so towarde and willyng, that he spedely without any difficultie accordyng to his instruccions brought the matter to a good conclusion.' (p. 365.)

The Chronicler then relates the story of the marriage of Edward with the lady Elizabeth Grey, and his narrative is the groundwork of the scene in 3 Henry VI. iii. 2.

'Nowe to returne where I left, as I beganne to shewe you, it was by the protector and his counsaill concluded that this doctor Shaa should in a sermon at Paules crosse signifie to the people that neither king Edwarde hym selfe nor the duke of Clarence were lawefully begotten, nor wer the very children of the duke of Yorke, but begotten vnlawefully by other persones by aduoutry of the duches their mother. And that dame Elizabeth Lucy was the very wife of king Edward, and so prince Edward and all [illegible]ldren begotten on the quene wer bastardes. And [illegible] to this deuise, doctor Sha the sondaie after [illegible]osse in a greate audience (as alwaie a great [illegible]embled to his preaching) came into the pulpit [illegible]r his Theme, Spuria vitulamina non dabunt [illegible]ltos. Sapien. iiii. that is to saie bastarde slippes [illegible]euer take depe rootes: wherupon when he had [illegible] the great grace that God geueth & secretely in-[illegible]eth in right generacion after ye lawes of matrimony, declared he that those children commenly lacked grace (& for the punishment of their parentes) were [illegible] ye most part vnhappy which wer gotten in baste, and specially in aduoutry, of which (though some by the

ignorauncie of the worlde and the truthe hid from knowlege) haue enherited for a season other mennes landes, yet God alwaie so prouideth that it continueth not in their bloude longe, but the truethe commynge to lighte the rightefull enheritoures be restored, and the bastard slippes plucked vp or it can be rooted depe. And when he had laied for the proofe and confirmacion of this sentence, examples taken out of the olde testamente and other aunciente histories, then began he to discend to the praise of the lord Richard duke of Yorke, callyng him father to the protectour and declared his title to the croune bi inheritaunce and also by entaile authorised by parliament after ye death of kynge Henry the sixte. Then shewed he that the lorde protector, was onely the righte heire, of his body lawfully begotten. Then declared he that kyng Edward was neuer lawfully maried to ye quene, but his wife before God was dame Elizabeth Lucy, and so his children wer bastardes. And beside that, neither kyng Edward hym selfe nor the duke of Clarence (emongest them that wer secrete in the duke of Yorkes houshoulde) were neuer reconed surely to be the children of the noble duke as those that by their fauoures more resembled other knowen menne then hym, from whose verteous condicions he saied also, that king Edwarde was far of. But the lord protector (quod he) that veraye noble prince, the speciall patrone of knightly prowes, aswell in all princely behaueour as in the liniamentes and fauour of his visage representeth the very face of ye noble duke his father. This is (quod he) the fathers awne figure, this is his awne countenaunce, the verie print of his visage, the sure vndoubted ymage, the playne expresse likenesse of that noble duke. Now was it before deuised that in the speakynge of these wordes, the protector shoulde haue come in emongest the people to ye sermond ward, to thende that these wordes so metyng with his presence, might haue been taken emongest the herers, as though the holy ghost had put theim in the

preachers mouthe, and shoulde haue moued the people euen there to haue cried, kynge Richard, that it might haue been after sayed that he was specially chosen by God, and in maner by miracle: but this deuise quayled, either by the protectoures negligence or the preachers ouer hasty diligence. For while the protectoure, founde by the waye tariynge, leaste he shoulde haue preuented these woordes, the doctour fearynge that he shoulde come or his sermon could come to those woordes hastynge his matter thereto, he was come to theim and paste theim, and entred into other matters or the protectour came, whom when he beheld commynge, he sodainly lefte the matter whiche he had in hand, and without any deduccyon thereunto out of all ordre, and out of all frame began to repete those woordes agayne. This is the very noble prince the especiall patrone of knightely prowes, whiche aswell in all princely behaueoure as in the liniamentes and fauour of his visage representeth the veraye face of the noble duke of Yorke his father. This is the fathers awne figure, this is his owne countenaunce, the very print of his visage the sure vndoubted image, the plain expresse likenesse of that noble duke, whose remembraunce can neuer die while he liueth. While these wordes were in speakynge, the protectour accompaignied with the duke of Buckyngham, went through the people vp into the place where the doctors stand where they harde oute the sermond: but the people were so far from criynge kynge Richard that they stoode as they had been turned into stoones for wonder of this shamefull sermonde: after whiche once ended ye precher gat hym home and neuer after durst loke out for shame but kept him out of sighte as an owle and when he asked any of his old frendes, what the people talked of him, although that his awne conscience well shewed hym that they talked no good, yet when the other answered hym, that there was in euery mannes mouthe of hym muche shame spoken it so strake him too the harte that in fewe dayes after he withered awaie.

'Then on the tuesday after next foloyng this sermond, beyng the .xvii. day of Iune, there came to the Guyld hall of London the duke of Buckyngham and diuerse lordes and knightes mo then happely knewe the message that they brought. And at the east ende of the hal where the hoystynges be kepte, the duke and the maire and the other lordes sat downe, and the aldermen also, all the commons of the citee beeynge assembled and standynge before theim. After scilence commaunded vpon a greate paine in the protectoures name: The duke stode vp and as he was well learned and of nature merueilously well spoken, he sayed to the people with a cleare and a lowde voyce: Frendes, for the zeale and hertie fauoure that we beare you we be come to breke of a matter righte greate and weightie, and no lesse weightie then pleasyng to God and profitable to all the realme, nor to no parte of the realme, more profitable, then to you the citezens of this noble citee. For why, the thynge that you haue long lacked and as we well know sore longed for that you woulde haue geuen greate good for, that you would haue gone farre to fetche: that thynge be we come hether to bryng you, without your labour pain, coste, auenture or ieoperdye. What thynge is that? Certes the surety of your awne bodies, the quiete of your wiues and daughters and the sauegarde of your goodes. Of all whiche thynges in tyme passed you stoode in doubte. For who was he of you all that could recon hym selfe lorde of his awne good emongest so many gynnes and trappes wer set therfore emong so much pyllyng and pollynge, emonge so many taxes and talliages, of the which there was neuer ende, and oftymes no nede, or yf any were, it grew rather of riote or of vnreasonable waste, then any necessary honourable charge, so that there was daily plucked and pilled from good and honeste menne greate substaunce of goodes, to be lashed out emong vnthriftes, so far furthe that fiftenes suffised not, nor any vsuall termes of knowen taxes, but vnder an easy name of beneuolence and good will, the

commissioners so much of euery manne toke, as no manne woulde with his good will haue geuen. As though the name of beneuolence had signified that euery manne shoulde paie, not what he of hym selfe of his good will lust to graunte, but what the king of his good wil lust to take, who neuer asked litle, but euery thing was haunsed aboue the measure, amerciamentes turned into fines, fines into raunsomes, small trespaces into mesprision, mesprision into treason, where of I thynke that no manne looketh that we shall remembre you of examples by name, as though Burdet were forgotten whiche was for a worde spoken, in hast cruelly behedded. (This Burdet was a marchaunt dwellyng in Chepesyd at ye signe of ye croune which now is ye signe of ye flowre de luse ouer against soper lane: This man merely in ye rufflyng tyme of kyng Edwarde y^e^.iiij. his rage, saied to his awne sonne that he would make hym in heritor of ye croune, meanyng his awne house: but these wordes king Edward made to be mysconstrued, & interpreted that Burdet meant the croune of the realme: wherfore within lesse space then .iiij. houres, he was apprehended, iudged, drawen and quartered in Chepesyde) .... And in that poinct whiche in good faithe I am sory to speake of, sauynge that it is vain to kepe in counsaill that thynge that all men knoweth, ye kyng his gredy appetite was insaciable, and euery where ouer all the realme intollerable. For no women was there any where, young or old, poore or riche, whom he sette his yie vpon, whom he any thynge liked either for persone or beautie, speche, pace or countenaunce, but without any feare of God, or respecte of his honour, murmure, or grudgyng of the world, he woulde importunately pursue his appetite and haue her, to the distruction of many a good woman, and great dolour to their husbandes and frendes, whiche beynge honest people of theim selues, so moche regarded the clennesse of their houses, the chastitle of their wiues and children, that theim wer leuer to lose all that thei haue beside, then to haue suche a vilanie done to theim .... It

shall not, I wote well nede, that I reherse vnto you again that you al redy haue hearde of hym that can better tell it, and of whom I am sure ye will better beleue it.' [Buckingham here repeats the arguments brought forward by Dr. Shaw to prove the illegitimacy of Edward and his children.]

'The children of kynge Edward the fourth wer neuer laufully begotten, for as muche as the kynge (liuynge his verie wife dame Elizabeth Lucy) was neuer laufully maried to the quene their mother. . . . For lacke of which lawefull copulacion and also of other thynges whiche the saied worshipfull doctor rather signified then fully explaned, and whiche thyng shall not be spoken for me, as the thyng that euery manne forbeareth to saie that he knoweth, in auoidyng the displeasure that my noble lorde protector bearyng as nature requireth a filial reuerence to the duches his mother. For these causes before remembred I saie, that for lake of issue lawfully commynge of the late noble prince Richard duke of Yorke, to whose royall bloud the crounes of England and of Fraunce, are by the high aucthorite of a parliament entailed, the right and title of the same is by iuste course of enheritaunce according to the common lawe of this lande, deuoluted and come vnto the moste excellent prince the lord protectoure, as to the very lawfull begotten sonne of the fore remembred noble duke of Yorke. Whiche thynge well considred and the knightely prowesse with many vertues whiche in his noble persone singulerely dooe habounde: The nobles and commons of this realme, and specially of the North partes, not willing any bastard bloud to haue the rule of the land, nor the abusions in the same before vsed and exercised any longer too continue, haue fully condiscended and vtterly determined too make humble peticion vnto the puisaunte prince the lorde protectour, that it may like his grace at our humble request, to take vpon hym the guydyng and gouernaunce of this realme .... When the duke had saied and loked that the people whom he hoped

that the Maire had framed before, shoulde after this flatterynge preposicion made, haue cried kynge Richarde, kynge Richarde, all was still and mute and not one woorde answered to: wherwith the duke was maruelously abashed, and takynge ye Maire nere to hym, with other that wer aboute hym priuy to the matter, saied vnto theim softely. What meaneth this, that the people be so still? Sir quod the Maire, percase they perceiue you not well, that shall we amend quod he, if he that wil helpe, and therwith somewhat lowder rehersed the same matter again, in other ordre and other woordes so well and ornately, and neuerthelesse so euidently and plaine with voice, gesture, & countenaunce so comely and so conuenient, that euery man much marueiled that hard him and thought that they neuer harde in their liues so euill a tale so well told. But wer it for wonder or feare, or that eche loked that other should speake firste, not one word was there answered of all the people that stoode before, but all were as still as the midnight not so much as rounyng[1] emong them, by which they might seme once to common[2] what was best to do. When the Maire sawe this, he with other parteners of the counsaill, drew about the duke and saied that ye people had not been accustomed there to be spoken to, but by the Recorder, which is the mouthe of the citee, and happely to hym they will answere. With that the Recorder called Thomas Fitz Wyllya*m*, a sadde manne and an honeste, which was but newly come to the office, and neuer had spoken to the people before, and loth was with that matter to begyn, notwithstanding, there vnto commaunded by the Maire, made rehersall to the commons of that which the duke had twise purposed hym self, but the recorder so te*m*pered his tale that he shewed euery thyng as the duke his woordes were and no parte of his owne, but all this no chaunge made in the people, whiche alway after one stoode as they had been amased. Where vpon, the duke rouned with the Maire and

[1] whispering. [2] converse about, discuss.

said, this is a marueilous obstinate scilence, and there with turned too the people again with these woordes. Deare frendes, we come to moue you to that thyng whiche parauenture we so greately neded not, but that the lordes of this realme and commons of other partes might haue suffised, sauying suche loue we beare you, and so muche set by you, that we would not gladly do without you, that thyng in whiche to be parteners is youre weele and honoure, whiche as to vs semeth you se not or waye not: Wherfore we require you to giue vs an answere, one or other, whether ye be mynded as all the nobles of the realme be, to haue this noble prince now protector to be your kyng? And at these wordes the people began to whisper emong them selfes secretly, that the voyce was neither loud nor base, but like a swarme of bees, till at the last, at the nether ende of the hal a bushement of the dukes seruauntes and one Nashfeelde and other belongynge to the protectoure with some prentices and laddes that thrusted into the hall emongest the preace, began sodainly at mennes backes to crye out as lowde as they could, kynge Richard, king Richard, and there threwe vp their cappes in token of ioye, and they that stoode before cast backe their heddes merueilynge therat, but nothing the saied. And when the duke and the Maire saw this maner, they wisely turned it to their purpose, and said it was a goodly crie and a ioyfull to here euery man with one voyce and no man saiyng nay. Wherefore frendes (quod the duke), sith we perceiue that it is all your whole mindes to haue this noble man for your king, wherof we shall make his grace so effectuall reporte that we doubt not but that it shall redounde to your great wealth and commodite. We therefore require you that to morowe ye go with vs and we with you to his noble grace to make our humble peticion and request to him in maner before remembred. And therwith the lordes came doune and the compaignie dissolued and departed the more part all sad, some with glad semblaunce that were not very merie and some of them that

came with the duke not hable to dissemble their sorowe, were fain euen at his backe to turne their face to the wall, while the doloure of their hartes braste out of their yies.

'Then on the morowe the Maire and aldremen and chief commoners of the citie in their best maner appareled, assemblyng them together at Paules, resorted to Baynardes castle where the protectour laie, to which place also accordyng too the appoinctment repaired the duke of Buckyngham, and diuerse nobles with hym, besides many knyghtes and gentlemen. And there vpon the duke sent woorde to the lord protectoure of the beyng there of a greate honourable compaignie to moue a greate matter to his grace. Where vpon the protectoure made greate difficultie to come doune to theim, except he knewe some parte of their errande, as though he doubted and partely mistrusted the commynge of such a numbre to hym so sodainely, without any warnyng or knowlege, whether they came for good or harme. Then when the duke had shewed this too the Mayre and other, that they might thereby se how litle the protectour loked for this matter, they sente again by the messenger suche louynge message, and there with so humbly besought hym to vouchsafe that the might resort to his presence to purpose their entent of which they would to none other persone any part disclose. At the last he came out of his chambre, and yet not doune to theim, but in a galary over them with a bishop on euery hand of him, where they beneth might se him and speke to him, as though he would not yet come nere them til he wist what they meant. And there vpon, the duke of Buckingham first made humble peticion to him on the behalfe of theim all, that his grace would pardon theim and licence them to purpose vnto his grace the entent of their commyng without his displeasure, without which pardon obteined, they durst not be so bold to moue him of that matter. In which, albeit they meant as muche honour to his grace as wealth to all ye realm beside, yet were they

not sure how his grace would take it, whom they would in no wise offend. Then the protectour, as he was very gentle of hym self and also longed sore apparantly to know what they meant, gaue him leaue to purpose what him liked, verely trustynge for the good mind that he bare them all none of theim any thyng woulde entende to hym warde, wherewith he thought to be greued. When the duke had this leaue and pardon to speake, then wexed he bold to shew hym their entente and purpose, with all the causes mouyng theim thereto, as ye before haue heard. And finally, to beseche his grace that it would like him of his accustomed goodnesse and zeale vnto the realm now with his yie of pitie to behold the long continued distresse and decaie of the same, & to set his gracious hand to the redresse and amendemente thereof by takynge vpon hym the croune and gouernaunce of the realme, accordyng to his right and title laufully discended vnto him, & to the laud of God, profite and surety of the land, and vnto his grace so muche the more honor and lesse pain, in that y^t^ neuer prince reigned vpon any people that wer so glad to liue vnder his obeisaunce as the people of this realme vnder his.

'When the protector had heard the proposicion, he loked very strangely therat and made answer, that albeit he knewe partely the thynges by theim alleged to be true, yet such entiere loue he bare to kynge Edward and his children, and so much more regarded his honour in other realmes about, then the croune of any one, of which he was neuer desyrous, so that he could not find in his harte in this poinct to incline to their desire, for in al other nacions where the truth were not wel knowen, it shoulde parauenture be thought that it were his awne ambicious mynde and deuise to depose the prince and to take hym selfe the croune, with which infamy he would in no wise haue his honour steined for any croune, in which he had euer perchaunce perceyued much more labour and

pein, then pleasure to him that so would vse it as he that would not and were not worthy to haue it. Notwithstanding, he not onely pardoned them of the mocion that they made him, but also thanked them for the loue and harty fauour they bare hym, praying them for his sake to beare the same to the prince vnder whom he was and would be content to liue and with his labour & counsaill as far as it should like the king to vse it, he woulde doo his vttermoste deuoier to sette the realme in good estate which was all redye in the litle tyme of his protectourship (lauded be God,) wel begon, in that the malice of such as wer before ye occasion of the contrary and of new entended to be, wer now partely by good policy, partely more by God his speciall prouidence, then mannes prouision, repressed and put vnder.

'Vpon this answer geuen, the duke of Buckyngham by the protector his licence a litle rounded[1], as well with other noble men about him as with the maire and recorder of London. And after that (vpon like perdon desired and obteined) he shewed aloude vnto the protectour, for a finall conclusion that the realme was appointed[2] that kynge Edward his line should no longer reigne vpon them, both that they had so far gone that it was now no suretee to retreate (as for that thei thought it for ye weale vniuersal to take y^t^ way, although thei had not yet begon it.) Wherfore if it would like his grace to take the croune vpon him, they would humbly beseche him therunto, and yf he would geue theim a resolute answere to the contrary (which the would be loth to here) then must they seke and shoulde not faill to find some other noble man that would. These wordes much moued the protector, which as euery man of small intelligence may wit would neuer haue enclined thereto: but when he sawe there was none other way but that he must take it, or els he and his both to go from it, he saied to the lordes and commons, sithe it is wee per-

[1] whispered. [2] determined.

ceiue well that all the realme is so set (wherof we bee very sory) that they will not suffre in any wise kynge Edward his line to gouerne theim, whom no man earthely can gouerne against their willes: And we also perceiue that no manne is there to whome the crowne can by so iuste title appertaine as to oure selfe as very righte heire laufully begotten of the body of our most dread and dere father Richard late duke of Yorke to which title is now ioyned your election, the nobles and commons of the realme, which we of all titles possible take for mooste effectual, we be content and agree fauourably to encline to your peticion & request, and accordynge to the same, here we take vpon vs the royall estate of preheminence and kyngdome of the twoo noble realmes, Englande and Fraunce, the one from this day forwarde by vs and our heires to rule, gouerne and defende, the other by God his grace and your good helpe to get again, subdue and establishe for euer in dewe obedience vnto this realme of Englande, the auauncement whereof we neuer aske of God longer to liue then we entende to procure and sette furthe. With this there was a greate cry and shoute, criyng kyng Richard and so the lordes wente vp to the kynge, and so he was after that daie called.' (pp. 367–374.)

The coronation of Richard and his queen, which took place on Sunday, 6 July, 1483, in Westminster Abbey, is described both by Hall and Holinshed.

'The duke of Buckingham with the rod of the high stuarde of Englande bare the kyng his train.' (Hall, p. 375.)

'Kyng Richard after his coronacion, takyng his waie to Gloucester, to visite in his newe honour the towne, of whiche he bare the name of old, deuised as he roade to fulfill that thyng which he before had intended. And forasmuch as his mynd gaue him that his nephewes liuynge, men woulde not recon that he coulde haue righte to the realme, he thoughte therefore without delaie to rid them, as though the killynge of his kynsmen mighte ende his cause, and make hym

kyndely kyng. Where vpon he sent Ihon Grene, whom he specially trusted, vnto sir Robert Brakenbury constable of the tower, with a letter and credence also, that the same sir Roberte in any wyse should put the two children to death. This Ihon Grene dyd his errand to Brakenbury, knelynge before oure lady in the Towre, who plainly answered that he woulde neuer put them to deathe to dye therefore. With the which answere Grene returned, recomptyng the same to kynge Richard at Warwyke yet on his iourney, wherwith he toke suche displeasure and thoughte that the same night he sayde to a secrete page of his: Ah, whom shall a man truste: they that I haue brought vp my selfe, they that I went[1] woulde haue moost surely serued me, euen those fayle me, and at my commaundemente wyll do nothynge for me. Syr quod the page, there lieth one in the palet chambre with out that I dare wel say, to do your grace pleasure the thing were right hard that he would refuse, meanyng this by Iames Tirel, which was a man of goodly personage, and for the giftes of nature worthy to haue serued a muche better prince, yf he had well serued God, and by grace obteyned to haue as muche trueth and good wyll, as he had strength and wytt. The man had an high harte and sore longed vpwarde, not risyng yet so fast as he had hoped, beynge hindered and kepte vnder by sir Richarde Ratcliffe and sir Willyam Catesbye, which longyng for no more parteners of the Princes fauour, namely not for him, whose pride thei knewe woulde beare no pere, kept him by secrete driftes out of al secrete trust: which thynge this page had well marked and knowen: wherefore this occasion offered of very speciall frendship spied his tyme to set him forwarde, and suche wyse to do him good, that all the enemies that he had (except the deuil) could neuer haue done him so much hurte and shame, for vpon the pages woordes, kyng Richard arose (for this communicacion had he sittyng on a drafte[2], a conuenient carpet for suche a counsail) and came out into the palet

[1] weened, thought. [2] a privy.

chambre, where he dyd fynde in bed the sayd Iames Tyrell and sir Thomas Tyrell of persone like and brethren of bloude, but nothyng of kynne in condicions. Then sayd the kyng merely to them, what syrs, be you in bed so sone: and called vp Iames Tyrell, & brake to him secretely his mynd in this mischeuous matter, in the which he found him nothing straunge. Wherfore on the morowe he sent him to Brakynbury with a letter by the which he was commaunded to delyuer to the sayd Iames all the keyes of the Towre for a night, to thende that he might there accomplish the kynges pleasure in suche thynges as he there had geuen him in commaundement. After which lettre deliuered & the keyes receyued, Iames appoincted ye next night ensuyng to destroye them, deuisyng before and preparyng the meanes.

'The prince assone as the Protectour toke vpon hym to be kynge, and left the name of protectoure, was thereof aduertised and shewed that he should not reigne, but his vncle should haue the croune. At which word the prince sore abashed beganne to sighe and sayd: Alas I would myne vncle would let me haue my life although I lese[1] my kyngedome. Then he that tolde hym the tale vsed him with good woordes and put hym in the best conforte that he coulde, but furthewith he and his brother were bothe shut vp, and all other remoued from them, one called blacke Wyl, or Willyam Slaughter onely except, which were set to serue them, and iiij. other to see them sure. After whiche tyme, the prince neuer tyed his pointes, nor any thyng roughte[2] of hym selfe, but with that young babe his brother lyngered in thoughte and heuines, tyll this trayterous dede deliuered them of that wretchednes.

'For Iames Tirrel deuised that they shoulde be murthered in their beddes, and no bloud shed: to the execution wherof, he appoincted Myles Forest one of the foure that before kepte them, a felowe-fleshe bred in murther before tyme: and to him he ioyned one Ihon Dighton his awne horse-

[1] lose. [2] recked, cared.

keper a bygge broade square and strong knaue. Then al the other beyng remoued from them, this Miles Forest and Ihon Dighton aboute mydnight, the sely children liyng in their beddes, came into ye chaumbre and sodenli lapped[1] them vp amongest the clothes and so bewrapped them and entangled them, kepyng doune by force the fetherbed and pillowes harde vnto their mouthes, that within a while they smored[2] & styfled them, and their breathes failyng, they gaue vp to God their innocent soules into the ioyes of heauen, leauyng to the tourmentours their bodies dead in the bed, which after the wretches perceyued, firste by the strugglyng, with the panges of death, and after long liyng styl to be throughly dead, they layd the bodies out vpon the bed, and fetched Iames Tirrell to see them, which when he sawe them perfightly dead, he caused the murtherers to burye them at the stayre foote, metely depe in the grounde vnder a great heape of stones.

'Then rode Iames Tirrel in great hast to kyng Richard, and shewed him all the maner of the murther, who gaue him great thankes, and as men saye, there made hym knighte, but he allowed not their buriall in so vile a corner, saiyng, that he would haue them buried in a better place because they were a kynges sonnes.' (pp. 377, 378.)

'But when these newes wer first brought to the infortunate mother of the dead children yet being in sanctuary, no doubte but it strake her to her harte, like the sharpe darte of death: for when she was first enformed of the murther of her .ii. sonnes, she was so sodainly amasyd with the greatnes of ye crueltie that for feare she sounded[3] and fell doune to the ground, and there lay in a great agonye like to a deade corps. And after that she came to her memory and was reuyued agayne, she wept and sobbyd and with pitefull scriches she replenished the hole mancion, her breste she puncted, her fayre here she tare and pulled in peces & being ouercome with sorowe & pensiuenes rather desyred

[1] wrapped. [2] smothered. [3] swooned.

death then life, calling by name diuers times her swete babes, accomptyng her self more then madde that she deluded by wyle and fraudulente promises delyuered her yonger sonne out of the sanctuarie to hys enemye to be put to death, thinkynge that next the othe made to God broken, & the dewtie of allegiaunce toward her children violated, she of all creatures in that poyncte was most seduced and disceaued: After longe lamentacion, when she sawe no hope of reuengynge otherwyse, she knelyd downe and cried on God to take vengeaunce for the disceaytfull periurie, as who saide she nothyng mistrusted but once he would remember it.' (pp. 379, 380.)

After endeavouring in vain to induce the duke of Brittany to surrender Richmond, Richard had recourse to another device.

'In the meane ceason kyng Richard was crediblye aduertised what promyses and othes the erle and his confederates had made and sworne together at Renes, and how by the erles meanes all thenglishmen were passed oute of Britayne into Fraunce. Wherfore beynge sore dysmaied and in maner desperate, because his craftie cheuesaunce[1] tooke none effect in Brytayne ymagened and deuysed how to infringe and disturbe the erles purpose by another meane, so that by the mariage of lady Elizabeth his nece he shoulde pretende no clayme nor tytle to the croune. For he thought if that mariage fayled, the erles chiefe combe had bene clerly cut. .... There came into his vngracious mynde a thinge not onely detestable to be spoken of in the remembraunce of man, but much more cruel and abhominable to be put in execucion .... He clerely determined to reconcile to his fauoure his brothers wife quene Elizabeth either by faire woordes or liberall promises, firmely beleuynge her fauoure once obteined that she would not sticke to commite and louyngly credite to him the rule and gouernaunce both of her and her daughters, and so by that meanes the erle

[1] negotiation.

of Richemonde of the affinite of his nece shoulde be vtterly defrauded and beguyled. And yf no ingenyous remedye coulde be otherwise inuented to saue the innumerable mischiefes whiche were euen at hand and like to falle, yf it shoulde happen quene Anne his wife to departe oute of this presente worlde, then he him selfe woulde rather take to wife his cousyn and nece the lady Elizabeth, then for lack of that affinite the whole realme shoulde runne to ruyne, as who said, that yf he once fell from his estate and dignite, the ruyne of the realme must nedes shortely ensue & folowe. Wherfore he sent to the quene beynge in sanctuarye diuerse and often messengers, whiche firste shoulde excuse and purge him of all thinges before againste her attempted or procured, and after should so largely promes promocions innumerable and benefites, not onely to her but also to her sonne lord Thomas Marques Dorcett, that they should brynge her yf it were possible into some wanhope[1], or as some men saie into a fooles paradise. The messengers beynge men bothe of wit and grauitie so persuaded the quene with great & pregnaunte reasons, then with fayre & large promises, that she began somewhat to relent & to geue to theim no deffe eare, in somuche that she faithfully promised to submyt & yelde her selfe fully and frankely to the kinges will and pleasure. . . . After that kynge Rycharde had thus with glorious promyses and flatterynge woordes pleased and appeased the mutable mynde of quene Elizabeth which knewe nothing lesse then that he moost entended, he caused all his brothers daughters to be conueighed into his paleys with solempne receauyng, as though with his newe familier and louyng entreteinement they should forget, and in their myndes obliterate the olde committed iniurie and late perpetrate tyrannye. Nowe nothinge was contrariant and obstacle to his pernicious purpose, but that his mancion was not voide of his wife, which thinge he in anywise adiudged necessary to be done. But there was

[1] despair.

one thing that so muche feared and dragged him from commyttynge this abhominable murther, because as you have hearde before he beganne to countrefaycte the ymage of a good and well disposed person, and therefore he was afeard least ye sodeine and immature death of his wife once openly knowen, he should lese the good and credible opinion which the people had of him, without deserte conceaued and reported. But in conclusion, euyll councell preuailed in a witt lately mynded to mischiefe, and tourned from all goodnes. So that his vngracious desyre ouercame his honest feare. And first to entre into the gates of his ymagened entreprise, he abstayned bothe from the bed and companye of his wife. After, he compleyned to dyuerse noble men of the realme, of the infortunate sterilite and barennes of his wife, because she brought foorth no fruyte and generacion of her bodye. And in especiall he accompted to Thomas Rotheram archebishop of Yorke (whome lately he had delyuered oute of warde and captiuite) these impedymentes of his quene and dyuerse other, thinkyng that he woulde enucleate and open to her all these thinges, trustynge the sequele herof to take his effecte, that she herynge this grudge of her husband, and takyng therefore an inwarde thought, woulde not longe lyue in this worlde. Of this the bishoppe gathered (whiche well knewe the complexion and vsage of the kyng) that the quenes dayes were short, and that he declared to certeine of his secrete frendes. After this he procured a common rumour (but he woulde not haue the author knowen) to be published and spred abroade emonge the common people that the quene was ded, to thentent that she takyng some conceipte of this straung fame, should fall into some sodayne sicknes or greuous maladye, & to proue if afterward she should fortune by yt or any other waies to lese her life, whyther ye people would impute her death to the thought or sicknes, or therof would laie ye blame to him. When ye quene heard tell that so horrible a rumour of her death was sprong

emongest the comminaltie, she sore suspected and iuged ye world to be almost at an ende with her, and in that sorofull agony, she with lamentable countenaunce and sorofull chere, repaired to the presence of the kyng her husband, demaundynge of hym, what it should meane that he had iudged her worthy to dye. The kyng aunswered her with fare woordes, and with dissimulynge blandimentes and flatteryng lesynges comforted her, biddynge her to be of good comforte, for to his knowledge she should haue none other cause. But howsoeuer y^t^ it fortuned, either by inward thought and pensyuenes of hearte, or by intoxicacion of poyson (which is affirmed to be most likely) within a few daies after, the quene departed oute of this transitorie lyfe, and was with dewe solempnite buried in the churche of seint Peter at Westminster.' (pp. 406, 407.)

The collapse of Buckingham's rebellion, which is only briefly referred to in the play, is told at length by Hall.

'The king was scace .ii. daies iourney from Salsburie when the duke of Buckyngham accompanyed with a greate power of wilde Weleshmen, whome he beynge a man of that courage and sharpe speche in maner agaynste their willes had rather therto enforced and compelled by lordely and streite commaundemente then by liberall wayges and gentle reteynoure, whiche thinge was the verie occasion why they lefte hym desolate and cowardely forsoke hym. The duke with all his power mershed through the forest of deane entendyng to haue passed the riuer of Seuerne at Gloucester, and ther to haue ioyned in army with the courtneys and other Westernmen of his confideracy and affinite, which if he had done no doubt but kyng Richard had bene in greate ieopardie either of priuacion of his realme or losse of his life or both. But se the chaunce, before he could attayne to Seuerne side, by force of continuall rayne and moysture, the ryuer rose so high that yt ouerflowed all the countrey adioynyng, in somuch that men were drowned in their beddes, howses with the extreme

violence were ouerturned, childre*n* were caried aboute the feldes, swimming in cradelles, beastes were drowned on hilles, whiche rage of water lasted continually .x. dayes, insomuch that in the countrey adioynyng they call yt to this daie, the greate water, or the duke of Buckynghams greate water. By this inundacion the passages were so closed that neither the duke could come ouer Seuerne to his complices, nor they to hym, duryng the whiche tyme, the Welshemen lyngerynge ydely and without money, vitayle, or wages, sodaynely scaled[1] and departed: and for all the dukes fayre promyses, manaces and enforcementes, they woulde in no wise neither goo farther nor abide. The duke thus abandoned and left almost post alone was of necessite co*m*pelled to flye, and in his flight was with this sodeyne of fortune maruelously dismayed: and beinge vnpurueyed, what councell he shoulde take and what waie he shoulde folowe, like a man in despeire not knowynge what to do, of verie truste and confidence conueyghed him selfe into the house of Homfrey Banaster his seruaunt beside Shrewsburie .... But when yt was knowen to his adherentes whiche were readye to geue battayle, that his hoste was scaled[1] and had lefte hym almoost alone, and was fled and could not be founde, they were sodaynely amased and striken with a soden feare, that euery man like persones desperate shifted for hym selfe and fled, some wente to sanctuarye and to solitarie places, some fled by see, whereof the mooste parte within a fewe dayes after aryued sauely in the duchye of Britayne.' (p. 394.)

'While these thynges were thus ha*n*deled and ordred in England, Henry Earle of Richemond prepared an army of fyue thousande manly Brytons, and fortie wele furnyshed shippes. When all thinges were prepared in aredynes and the daye of departynge and settynge forwarde was appoynted, whiche was the .xii. daye of the moneth of October in the yere of the incarnacion of oure redemer .M. CCCC. XLVIII.

[1] dispersed.

[MCCCCLXXXIII] and in the seconde yere of kynge Richardes reigne, the whole armye wente on shipboorde and halsed vp their sailes, and with a prosperous wynde tooke the sea: but towarde night the wynde chaunged and the wether tourned, and so houge and terrible a tempest sodaynely roase, that with the verie power and strength of the storme, the shippes were disparcled[1], seuered and separate a sondre: some by force were dryuen into Normandye, some were compelled to retourne agayne into Britayne. The shippe wherein the Earle of Rychemonde was, associate onely with one other barcke was all nyghte tossed and turmoyled. In the mornynge after when the rage of the furious tempest was assuaged, and the Ire of the blusterynge wynde was some deale appeased, aboute the houre of none thesame daye, the erle approched to the southe parte of the realme of England even at the mouthe of the hauen of pole in the countie of dorcet, where he mighte playnely perceaue all the se bankes and shores garnished and furnished with men of warre and souldiouers appoynted and deputed there to defende his arryuall and landynge as before is mencioned. Wherefore he gaue streyghte charge and sore commaundemente, that no person should once presume to take land and goo to the shore, vntill suche tyme as the whole nauye were assembled and congregate. And while he expected and lyngered tariyenge for that purpose, he sente oute a shippe bote towarde the lande side to knowe, whyther they whiche stoode there in suche a nombre and so well furnysshed in apparell defensiue were hys capitall foes and enemyes or elles his frendes fautoures and comforters. They that were sente in exploracion and message were instantely desyred of the men of warre kepynge the coast (whiche thereof were before instructed and admonished) to dissende and take lande, affirmynge that they were appoyncted by the duke of Buckyngham there to awayte and tarie for the

[1] scattered.

arryuall and landyng of the erle of Richemond, and to conduicte saũely to the campe where the duke not far of laye encam*m*ped with a populous army and an host of great strength and vigor, to thentent that the duke and therle ioynynge in puyssaunces and forces together, mighte prosecute and chace king Richard beyng destitute of men, and in maner desperate and fugityue, and so by that meanes and their awne laboures and industrie to obteine the ende of their enterprise which they had before begonne.

'The erle of Richemonde suspectynge their flaterynge requeste to be but a fraud (as yt was in dede) after that he perceaued none of his shippes to apere in sight, he weied vp his ancors and halsed vp his sayles hauynge a prosperous and strenable wynde and a freshe gale sente euen by God to delyuer hym from that perell and ieopardie, arryued safe and in securitie in the duchy of Normandy, where he to refreshe and solace his souldyours and people, tooke his recreacion by the space of .iii. dayes, and clerely determyned with parte of his companye to passe all by lande agayne into Britayne.' (pp. 395, 396.)

The battle of Bosworth field, Richard's dream, and the speeches of Richmond and Richard to their soldiers, are all described in Hall.

'In the mean ceason kyng Richard (whiche was appoynted nowe to finyshe his last laboure by the very deuyne iustice and prouidence of God, which called him to condigne punyshemente for his scelerate merites and myscheueous desertes) marshed to a place mete for twoo battayles to encountre by a village called Bosworth, not farre from Leycester, and there he pitched his felde, refreshed his souldioures and toke his rest. The fame went that he had the same night a dreadful & a terrible dreame, for it semed to hym beynge a slepe y^t^ he sawe diuerse ymages lyke terrible deuelles whiche pulled and haled hym, not sufferynge hym to take any quyet or rest. The whiche

straunge vision not so sodeinly strake his heart with a sodeyne feare, but it stuffed his hed and troubled his mynde with many dreadfull and busy Imaginacions. For incontynent after, his heart beynge almost damped, he prognosticated before the doubtfull chaunce of the battaile to come, not vsynge the alacrite and myrth of mynde and of countenaunce as he was accustomed to do before he came toward the battaile. And least that it might be suspected that he was abasshed for feare of his enemyes, and for that cause looked so piteously, he recyted and declared to hys famylyer frendes in the morenynge hys wonderfull visyon and terrible dreame. But I thynke this was no dreame, but a punccion and pricke of his synfull conscience .... Now to retorne againe to oure purpose, ye next daie after, kyng Richard beyng furnished w^t^ men & all abilimentes of warr, bringyng all his men out of there camp into ye plaine, ordered his forward in a marueylous length, in which he appointed both horsemen & footmen to thentent to emprynte in ye hartes of them y^t^ loked a farre of, a sodeine terror & deadlie feare, for ye great multitude of ye armed souldiours : & in the fore Frount he placed ye archers like a strong fortified trench or bulwarke : ouer this battaile was captain Ihon duke of Norfolke with whom was Thomas erle of Surrey his sonne. After this long vantgard folowed king Richard him self, w^t^ a strong compaigny of chosen & approued men of warr, hauyng horsmen for wynges on both ye sides of his battail.

'After y^t^ therle of Richmond was departed from ye communicacion of his frendes as you haue harde before, he began to be of a better stomake & of a more valiant courage, & w^t^ all diligens pitchid his feld iuste by ye camp of his enemies, & there he lodged y^t^ night. In the morning be time he caused his men to put on there armure & appareyl them selfes redy to fight & geue battail, & sent to ye lord Stanley (which was now come w^t^ his bande in a place indifferently betwene both ye armies) requiryng him w^t^ his

men to approche nere to his army & to help to set ye souldiours in array, he answered yt therle should set his awne men in a good order of battaile, while he would array his compaigny, & comme to him in time conuenient. Which answere made otherwise then therle thought or would haue iudged, considering ye oportunite of the time & the waite of ye busines, & although he was there wtall, a litle vexed, began somewhat to hang ye hedde, yet he wtout any time delaiyng compelled by necessite, after this maner instructed & ordred his men. He made his forward somewhat single and slender, accordyng to ye small nomber of his people. In ye Frount he placed the archers, of whome he made captain Ihon erle of Oxford: to the right wyng of ye battaill he appoynted, sir Gylbert Talbott to be ye leder: to ye left wing he assigned sir Ihon Sauage, & he wt ye aide of ye lord Stanley accompaignied with therle of Penbroke hauyng a good compaignie of horsmen and a small nomber of footmen: For all his hole nomber exceded not .v. thousaide men beside the powr of the Stanleys, wherof .iij. thousande were in the felde vnder the standard of sir William Stanley: The kynges nomber was doble as muche & more.' (pp. 413, 414.)

Of Richard's speech the play only gives us the peroration, the material for which was supplied by the chronicler.

'You se also, what a nomber of beggerly Britons & faynte harted Frenchmen be with hym arriued to distroy vs our wyfes and children. Which Imminent mischifes & apparaunt inconuenientes, if we wil withstond & refel, we must liue to gether like brethern, fight together like lions, & feare not to dye together lyke men. And obseruyng and kepyng this rule and precept, beleue me, the fearefull hare neuer fled faster before the gredy greyhound, nor ye sylye larke before ye sparow hauke, nor the symple shepe before the rauenous wolfe, then your proud bragging aduersaries astonned & amased with ye only sight of your manly visages, will flee, ronne & skyr out of the felde. For yf you consider

and wisely ponder al things in your minde, you shall perceyue that we haue manifeste causes, and apparant tokens of triumph and victorie. And to begyn with the earle of Richmond Captaine of this rebellion, he is a Welsh mylkesoppe, a man of small courage and lesse experience in marcyall actes and feates of war, brought vp by my brothers[1] meanes and myne like a captiue in a close cage in the court of Fraunces duke of Britaine, and neuer saw armie, nor was exercised in marcial affaires, by reason whereof he neither can nor is able on his awne will or experience to guyde or rule an hoste. For in the wyt and pollicie of the capitaine, consisteth the chefe adeption of the victory and ouerture[2] of the enemyes. Secondarely feare not and put a way all doubtes, for when ye traitors & runagates of our realme, shall see vs w^t^ banner displaied come against them, remembryng there oth promise & fidelitie made vnto vs, as to ther souereigne lord & anoynted kyng, they shal be so pricked & stimulate in ye botome of there scrupulous consciences y^t^ they for very remorce & dread of ye diuine plage will either shamefully flye, or humbly submitte them selfes to our grace and marcie. And as for the Frenshmen & Brytons, there valiantnes ys suche, y^t^ our noble progenitors & your valiaunt parentes, haue them oftener vanquished & ouercome in one moneth, then they in ye beginnyng imagened possible to compasse & fynishe in a hole yere. What wil you make of them, braggers w^t^out audacite, dronkards w^t^out discrescion, rybaudes[3] w^t^out reason, cowardes w^t^out resistyng & in conclusion ye most effeminate & lasciuious people, y^t^ euer shewed them selfes in Frunt of battaile, ten tymes more coragious to fly & escape then ons to assaut ye brest of our stronge & populous army. Wherfore, consideryng al these auauntages, expell out of your thoughts all doutes & avoide out of your mindes al feare, & like valiaunt champions auaunce furth your

[1] 'mothers' in Holinshed's second edition. [2] overthrow. [3] profligates.

standards, & assaye whither your enemies can decide & trie ye title of battaile by dent of swerde, auaunce (I say againe) forward my captains, in whom lacketh neither pollicie wisdome nor puissaunce. Euery one gyue but one suer stripe, & suerly ye iorney is ours. What preuayleth a handfull to a hole realme: desiryng you for ye loue y^t^ you beare to me, & ye affeccion y^t^ you haue to your natiue and natural countrey, & to ye sauegard of your prince & your self y^t^ you wyll this day take to you your accustumed corage, & couragious spirites for ye defence & sauegard of vs all. And as for me, I assure you, this day I wil triumphe by glorious victorie, or suffer death for immortal fame. For thei be maihmeed & out of ye palice of fame disgraded, dieng w^t^out renoune, which do not as much preferre & exalte ye perpetual honor of their natiue countrey, as ther awne mortal & transitorie life. Now sent George to borowe, let vs set forward, & remember well y^t^ I am he which shall w^t^ high auauncementes, rewarde & preferre ye valiaunt & hardy champions, & punishe and turment the shameful cowardes & dreadfull dastardes.' (pp. 415, 416.)

In Richmond's speech there is less resemblance to the chronicle, but the latter was no doubt in the mind of the writer as the following extracts will shew.

'Our cause is so iuste that no enterprice can be of more vertue, bothe by the lawes diuine and ciuile, for what can be a more honest, goodly or Godly quarell then to fight agaynste a Capitayne, beynge an homicide and murderer of hys awne bloude and progenye? An extreme destroyer of hys nobylytie, and to hys and oure countrey and the poore subiectes of the same, a deadly malle, a fyrye brande and a burden vntollerable? besyde hym, consyder who be of his bande and compaignye, suche as by murther and vntreuthe committed agaynste there awne kynne and lynage, ye agaynste theyr Prynce and souereygne Lorde haue disheryted me and you and wrongefully deteyne and vsurpe ouer lawefull patrymonye and lyneall inherytaunce.....

Besyde this I assure you that there be yonder in that great battaill, men brought thither for feare and not for loue, souldiours by force compelled and not w^t^ good will assembled: persons which desyer rather the destruccion then saluacion of ther master and Captayn: And fynally a multitude: wherof the most part will be our frendes and the lest part our enemies. . . . And this one thyng I assure you, that in so iuste and good a cause, and so notable a quarell, you shall fynde me this daye, rather a dead carion vppon the coolde grounde, then a fre prisoner on a carpet in a laydes chamber.' (pp. 417, 418.)

'He had scantly finyshed his saienge, but the one armye espyed the other, lord how hastely the souldioures buckled their healmes, how quikly the archers bent their bowes and frushed theire feathers, how redely ye byllmen shoke there bylles and proued there staues, redy to approche & ioyne when the terrible trompet should sownde the bluddy blast to victorie or death. Betwene both armies ther was a great marrysse which therle of Richemond left on his right hand, for this entent that it should be on that syde a defence for his part, and in so doyng he had the sonne at his backe and in the faces of his enemies. When kynge Richard saw the earles compaignie was passed the marresse, he commaunded with al hast to sett vpon them, then the trompettes blew & the souldiours showted and the kyngs archers couragiously let fly there arrowes, the erles bowmen stode not still but paied them home againe. The terrible shot ons passed, the armies ioyned, & came to hande strokes, where nother swerde nor byll was spared, at whiche encounter the lord Stanley ioyned with therle. The erle of Oxforde in the meane season feryng lest while his compaignie was fightyng, they should be compassed & circumuented w^t^ ye multitude of his enemies, gaue commaundement in euery ranke y^t^ no man should be so hardy as go aboue .x. fote from ye standard, whiche commaundement ons knowen, they knit them selfes together, & ceased

a littel from fightyng: the aduersaries sodainly abashed at the matter and mystrustynge some fraude or deceate, began also to pause and left strikyng, and not against the wylles of many whiche had leuer had the kyng destroyed then saued, and therfore they fought very faintlye or stode stil. Therle of Oxforde bringing all his bend together on the one part, set on his ennemies freshly, agayne, the aduersaries perceiuyng that, placed ther men slender and thyne before and thicke and brode behynde, begynnynge againe hardely the battaill. While the two forwardes thus mortallye fought, eche entendyng to vanquishe & conuince ye other, kyng Richard was admonished by his explorators and espialles, yt therle of Richmond accompaignied with a small nomber of men of armes was not farre of, & as he approched and marched toward him, he perfitely knew his personage by certaine demonstracions & tokens whiche he had learned and knowen of other. And being inflamed with ire and vexed wt outragious malice, he put his spurres to his horse & rode out of the syde of ye range of his battaile, leuyng the auantgardes fightyng, & like a hungery lion ran with spere in rest toward him. Therle of Richemond perceyued wel the king furiusly commyng toward him, and by cause the hole hope of his welth and purpose was to be determined by battaill, he gladly proferred to encountre with him body to body and man to man. Kyng Richard set on so sharpely at the first Brount yt he ouerthrew therles standarde, and slew Sir William Brandon his standarde bearer (whiche was father to sir Charles Brandon by kynge Henry ye VIII. created duke of Suffolke) and matched hand to hand wt sir Ihon Cheinye, a man of great force & strength which would haue resisted him, & the saied Ihon was by him manfully ouerthrowen, and so he making open passage by dent of swerde as he went forward, therle of Richmond with stode his violence and kept him at the swerdes poincte without auantage longer then his compaignons other thought or iudged, which beyng almost in dispaire of victorie, were

sodainly recomforted by Sir William Stanley, whiche came to succours with .iii. thousand tall men, at whiche very instant kynge Richardes men were dryuen backe and fledde, and he him selfe manfully fyghtynge in the mydell of his enemies was slayne and brought to his death as he worthely had deserued.

'In the meane season therle of Oxforde with the aide of the Lord Stanley, after no long fight disconfited the forward of king Rychard, whereof a greate nomber were slayne in the chace and flight, but the greatest nomber whiche (compelled by feare of the kyng and not of there mere voluntarie mocion) came to the feld, gaue neuer a stroke, and hauing no harme nor damage sauely departed, whiche came not thyther in hope to se the kynge prosper and preuaile, but to here that he shoulde be shamefully confounded and brought to ruyne.

'In this battaile died fewe aboue the nomber of a thousande persons: And of the nobilitie were slayne Ihon Duke of Norfolke, whiche was warned by dyuers to refrayne from the felde, in so much that the nyghte before he shoulde set forwarde towarde the kynge, one wrote on his gate.

> Iack of Norffolke be not to bolde
> For Dykon thy maister is bought and solde.

'Yet all this notwithstandynge he regarded more his othe his honour and promyse made to king Richard, lyke a gentleman and a faythefull subiecte to his prince absented not him selfe from his mayster, but as he faythefully lyued vnder hym, so he manfully dyed with hym to hys greate fame and lawde.' (pp. 418, 419.)

'When therle had thus obteigned victorie and slain his mortal enemie, he kneled doune and rendred to almightie God his harty thankes w^{t} deuoute & Godly orisons, besechyng his goodnes to sende hym grace to auaunce & defende the catholike fayth & to mayntaine iustice & concorde amongest his subiectes & people, by God now to his

gouernaunce committed & assigned: Which praier finyshed, he replenyshed wt incomperable gladnes, ascended vp to the top of a litell mountaine, where he not only praysed & lawded his valiaunt souldiours, but also gaue vnto theim his harty thankes, wt promyse of condigne recompence for their fidelite & valiaunt factes, willing & commaundyng al the hurt & wounded persones to be cured, and the dead carcases to be deliuered to ye sepulture. Then ye people reioysed & clapped handes cryyng vp to heauen, kyng Henry, kyng Henry. When the lord Stanley sawe the good will and gratuite of the people he toke the crowne of kynge Richard which was founde amongest the spoyle in the felde, and set it on therles hed, as though he had byne elected king by the voyce of the people as in auncient tymes past in diuers realmes it hath bẽn accustomed, and this was the first signe and token of his good lucke and felicite. I must put you here in remembraunce how that kynge Richarde puttynge some diffidence in the lord Stanley, which had wt hym as an hostage, the lorde straunge his eldest sonne, which lord Stanley as you haue hearde before ioyned not at the firste with his sonne in lawes armye, for feare that kynge Richarde would haue slayne the Lorde Straunge his heyre. When kynge Richarde was come to Boswoorth, he sent a purseuaunt to the lord Stanley, commaundyng hym to auaunce forward with hys compaignie and to come to his presence, whiche thynge yf he refused to do, he sware by Christes passion that he woulde stryke of his sonnes hedde before he dined. The lorde Stanley aunswered the pursiuaunt that yf the kynge dyd so, he had more sonnes a lyue, and as to come to hym he was not then so determined: when kynge Richarde harde this aunswere he commaunded the lorde Straunge incontinent to be behedded, whiche was at that very same season when both the armyes had sight eche of other. The counsaillers of kyng Richard pondering the time and the cause, knowynge also the Lorde Straunge to be innocente

of his fathers offence, perswaded the kynge that it was now time to fight and not time to execucion, aduisynge him to kepe the Lorde Straunge as a prisoner till the battayll were ended, and then at Leyser his pleasure might be accomplished. So as God woulde kyng Rycharde enfrynged hys holy othe, and the Lorde was deliuered to the kepers of the kynges tentes to be kept as a prisoner, whyche when the felde was done and their master slayne and proclamacion made to knowe were the childe was, they submitted them selfes as prysoners to the Lord Straunge, and he gently receyued them and brought them to the newe proclamed king, where of him and of his Father he was receyued with greate ioye and gladnes. After this the hole campe remoued with bagg and baggage and thesame nyght in the euenyng kynge Henry with great Pompe came to the towne of Leycester.' (pp. 420, 421.)

Although these extracts are taken from Hall only, it is evident that the dramatist must have consulted also the second edition of Holinshed, which was published in 1586–7. To this source we owe the name of Friar Penker (iii. 5. 104), which in Hall is Pynkie; the story of Richard's visit to Exeter (iv. 2. 107–111), and his alarm at the ominous resemblance of Rougemont to Richmond; and the statement in Richard's address to his army that Richmond had been maintained in Brittany 'at our *mother's* cost,' an error which occurs in the second edition of Holinshed only. On the other hand, Hall alone mentions Burdet's case, to which reference is made in iii. 5. 76; in his narrative alone Richard presents himself to the Lord Mayor in the gallery at Baynard's Castle with a Bishop on either side; and in Hall the scene of Buckingham's execution is the market-place at Salisbury, while in Holinshed it was at Shrewsbury.

It will be seen in the course of the Notes to this play that the text of the folios differs from that of the quarto editions very considerably. It has been no part of my

plan to record all these variations, and I have only mentioned those which seemed more important. In what way they are to be accounted for is still a matter of dispute, and without attempting to invent a new theory to explain the inexplicable, I shall content myself with giving the views of others and leave the further investigation of the question to the speculation of the curious. Premising that the first edition of the quarto text appeared in 1597, and the first edition of the folio in 1623, the following is the statement of the case given by the Cambridge editors, for which, however, I have no wish to avoid my share of responsibility.

'The respective origin and authority of the first Quarto and first Folio texts of *Richard III.* is perhaps the most difficult question which presents itself to an editor of Shakespeare. In the case of most of the plays a brief survey leads him to form a definite judgement; in this, the most attentive examination scarcely enables him to propose with confidence a hypothetical conclusion.

'The Quarto, Q_1, contains passages not found in the Folio, F_1, which are essential to the understanding of the context: the Folio, on the other hand, contains passages equally essential, which are not found in the Quarto.

'Again, passages which in the Quarto are complete and consecutive, are amplified in the Folio, the expanded text being quite in the manner of Shakespeare. The Folio, toó, contains passages not in the Quartos, which though not necessary to the sense, yet harmonize so well, in sense and tone, with the context that we can have no hesitation in attributing them to the author himself.

'On the other hand, we find in the Folios some insertions and many alterations which we may with equal certainty affirm not to be due to Shakespeare. Sometimes the alterations seem merely arbitrary, but more frequently they appear to have been made in order to avoid the recurrence of the same word, even where the recurrence adds to the

force of the passage, or to correct a supposed defect of metre, although the metre cannot be amended except by spoiling the sense.

'Occasionally we seem to find indications that certain turns of phrase, uses of words or metrical licenses, familiar enough to Shakespeare and his earlier contemporaries, had become obsolete in the time of the corrector, and the passages modified accordingly. In short, *Richard III.* seems even before the publication of the Folio to have been tampered with by a nameless transcriber who worked in the spirit, though not with the audacity, of Colley Cibber.'

The editors then give their view of the pedigree of the two texts, which is briefly this. That the quarto was printed from a transcript of the author's original manuscript. That this original manuscript was revised, corrected and enlarged by the author, and that from a transcript of the play so revised, the text of the Folio was printed, with occasional reference to the third quarto which appeared in 1602. The conclusion at which the editors arrive is that, on the whole, the text of the Quartos is superior to that of the Folios.

This theory has been submitted to an elaborate examination by Mr. Spedding in the Transactions of the New Shakspere Society, 1875–6, and his conclusion is 'that where express reason cannot be shown to the contrary, the readings of the Folio ought always to be preferred.'

Professor Delius (Jahrbuch d. Deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft, vii.), on entirely different grounds, also maintains the superior authority of the Folio readings. He believes that the Folios contain the original text of Shakespeare, and that the text of the Quartos was made from it by an anonymous editor, who for various reasons, audaciously tampered both with language and metre. For instance, he holds that the smooth lines of the Folio were purposely made rugged by the anonymous editor of the Quarto, the alternative supposition being that Shakespeare

originally wrote these irregular lines which were made smooth at a later time when he himself indulged in a freer metre. Indeed Professor Delius lays it down as a principle, and not at all as a paradox, that the more correct versification of the Folio, as compared with the frequently incorrect versification of the Quarto, is an evidence of the priority of the former.

To shew how differently the same fact may present itself to different investigators, I will quote the line, ii. 4. 65, which stands in the Quartos

'Or let me die, to look on death no more.'

and in the Folios

'Or let me die, to look on earth no more.'

Mr. Spedding calls the change of 'death' to 'earth' an injudicious correction, due in all probability to the printing-office. Professor Delius defends 'earth' as the original reading, which was altered by the anonymous corrector in order to give point to the line by a play on the words 'die' and 'death.'

In conclusion, after reading very carefully what has been advanced on the other side, I see no reason for materially changing the opinion which was put forward in the Cambridge Shakespeare; and with regard to the opposite view of Professor Delius and Mr. Spedding, I would say, that while Mr. Spedding may be justified in his inference, the reasons given by Professor Delius must be wrong.

Richard the Third, although not a play for the closet, has always been a favourite upon the stage, and the character of Richard has possessed a strong attraction for our greatest actors. To this fact Steevens, with great probability, attributes much of the success of the tragedy. 'The part of Richard is,' he observes, 'perhaps, beyond all others, variegated, and consequently favourable to a judicious performer. It comprehends, indeed, a trait of almost every species of

character on the stage. The hero, the lover, the statesman, the buffoon, the hypocrite, the hardened and repenting sinner, &c., are to be found within its compass. No wonder, therefore, that the discriminating powers of a Burbage, a Garrick, and a Henderson, should at different periods have given it a popularity beyond other dramas of the same author.' But it must be remembered that the acting play is not Shakespeare's Richard the Third but Colley Cibber's. It may be that this is an improvement upon the original, but it gave occasion to Charles Lamb to say, in his Essay on the Tragedies of Shakspeare, 'I am almost disposed to deny to Garrick the merit of being an admirer of Shakspeare. A true lover of his excellencies he certainly was not; for would any true lover of them have admitted into his matchless scenes such ribald trash as Tate and Cibber, and the rest of them, that

"With their darkness durst affront his light,"

have foisted into the acting plays of Shakspeare? I believe it impossible that he could have had a proper reverence for Shakspeare, and have condescended to go through that interpolated scene in Richard the Third, in which Richard tries to break his wife's heart by telling her he loves another woman, and says, "if she survives this she is immortal." Yet I doubt not he delivered this vulgar stuff with as much anxiety of emphasis as any of the genuine parts: and for acting, it is as well calculated as any.'

Archdeacon Hare in his Guesses at Truth, has some remarks on what he calls the self-reflective character of Shakespeare's villains, and on the difference between his earlier and later work, with which this Preface may worthily close.

'If the Will gives itself up to work evil, the Conscience ever and anon lifts up its reproachful voice, and smites with its avenging sting; whereupon the Will commands the Understanding to lull or stifle the Conscience with its

sophistries, and to prove that our moral nature is a mere delusion. Hence Shakespeare has made his worst characters, Edmund, Iago, Richard, more or less self reflective. .... Yet in nothing have the writers of spurious tragedies oftener gone wrong, than in their way of making their villains proclaim and boast of their villainy. Even poets of considerable dramatic genius have at times erred grievously in this respect, especially during the immaturity of their genius: witness the soliloquies of Francis Moor in Schiller's Titanic first-birth. Slow too and reluctant as I am to think that anything can be erroneous in Shakespeare, whom Nature had wedded, so to say, for better, for worse, and whom she admitted into all the hidden recesses of her heart, still I cannot help thinking that even he, notwithstanding the firm grasp with which he is wont to hold the reins of his solar chariot, as it circles the world, beholding and bringing out every form of life in it, has somewhat exaggerated the diabolic element in the soliloquies of Richard the Third.'

He then compares the lines after the death of Henry the Sixth and those in the opening scene of the present play with the self-justification of Edmund in Lear, and of Iago in Othello, and proceeds :—

'If we compare these speeches with Richard's, and in like manner if we compare the way in which Iago's plot is first sown, and springs up and gradually grows and ripens in his brain, with Richard's downright enunciation of his projected series of crimes from the first, we may discern the contrast between the youth and the mature manhood of the mightiest intellect that ever lived upon earth, a contrast almost equally observable in the difference between the diction and metre of the two plays, and not unlike that between a great river rushing along turbidly in spring, bearing the freshly melted snows from Alpine mountains, with flakes of light scattered here and there over its surface, and the same river, when its waters have subsided into their

autumnal tranquillity, and compose a vast mirror for the whole landscape around them, and for the sun and stars and sky and clouds overhead.

'It is true, Shakespeare's youth was Herculean, was the youth of one who might have strangled the serpents in his cradle. There are several things in Richard's position, which justify a great difference in the representation of his inward being. His rank and station pampered a more audacious will. The civil wars had familiarized him with crimes of lawless violence, and with the wildest revolutions of fortune. Above all, his deformity,—which Shakespeare received from a tradition he did not think of questioning, and which he purposely brings forward in both the speeches quoted above,—seemed to separate and cut him off from sympathy and communion with his kind, and to be a plea for thinking that, as he was a monster in body, he might also be a monster in heart and conduct. In fact it is a common result of a natural malformation to awaken and irritate a morbid self-consciousness, by making a person continually and painfully sensible of his inferiority to his fellows: and this was doubtless a main agent in perverting Lord Byron's character. Still I cannot but think that Shakespeare would have made a somewhat different use even of this motive, if he had re-written the play, like King John, in the maturity of his intellect. Would not Richard then, like Edmund and Iago, have palliated and excused his crimes to himself, and sophisticated and played tricks with his conscience? Would he not have denied and avowed his wickedness, almost with the same breath? and made the ever-waxing darkness of his purposes, like that of night, at once conceal and betray their hideous enormity? At all events, since the justifications that may be alleged for Richard's bolder avowals of his wickedness, result from the peculiar idiosyncrasy of his position taken along with his physical frame, he is a most unsafe model for other poets to follow, though a very tempting one, especially to young

poets, many of whom are glad to vent their feelings of the discord between their ardent fancies and the actual state of the world, in railing at human nature, and embodying its evils in some incarnate fiend. Besides the main difficulties of dramatic poetry are smoothed down, when a writer can make his characters tell us how good and how bad he designs them to be.'

WILLIAM ALDIS WRIGHT.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
July 15, 1880.

THE TRAGEDY OF
KING RICHARD THE THIRD.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

KING EDWARD the Fourth.
EDWARD, Prince of Wales, afterwards K. Edward V, } sons to the King.
RICHARD, Duke of York, }
GEORGE, Duke of Clarence, } brothers to the King.
RICHARD, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King Richard III, }
A young son of Clarence.
HENRY, Earl of Richmond, afterwards King Henry VII.
CARDINAL BOURCHIER, Archbishop of Canterbury.
THOMAS ROTHERHAM, Archbishop of York.
JOHN MORTON, Bishop of Ely.
DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.
DUKE OF NORFOLK.
EARL OF SURREY, his son.
EARL RIVERS, brother to Elizabeth.
MARQUIS OF DORSET and LORD GREY, sons to Elizabeth.
EARL OF OXFORD.
LORD HASTINGS.
LORD STANLEY, called also EARL OF DERBY.
LORD LOVEL.
SIR THOMAS VAUGHAN.
SIR RICHARD RATCLIFF.
SIR WILLIAM CATESBY.
SIR JAMES TYRREL.
SIR JAMES BLOUNT.
SIR WALTER HERBERT.
SIR ROBERT BRAKENBURY, Lieutenant of the Tower.
CHRISTOPHER URSWICK, a priest. Another Priest.
TRESSEL and BERKELEY, gentlemen attending on the Lady Anne.
Lord Mayor of London. Sheriff of Wiltshire.

ELIZABETH, queen to King Edward IV.
MARGARET, widow of King Henry VI.
DUCHESS OF YORK, mother to King Edward IV.
LADY ANNE, widow of Edward Prince of Wales, son to King Henry VI; afterwards married to Richard.
A young daughter of Clarence (MARGARET PLANTAGENET).

Ghosts of those murdered by Richard III, Lords and other Attendants; a Pursuivant, Scrivener, Citizens, Murderers, Messengers, Soldiers, &c.

SCENE: *England.*

ACT I.

SCENE I. *London. A street.*

Enter RICHARD, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, *solus.*

Glou. Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious summer by this sun of York;
And all the clouds that lour'd upon our house
In the deep bosom of the ocean buried.
Now are our brows bound with victorious wreaths;

Our bruised arms hung up for monuments;
Our stern alarums changed to merry meetings,
Our dreadful marches to delightful measures.
Grim-visaged war hath smooth'd his wrinkled front;
And now, instead of mounting barbed steeds
To fright the souls of fearful adversaries,
He capers nimbly in a lady's chamber
To the lascivious pleasing of a lute.
But I, that am not shaped for sportive tricks,
Nor made to court an amorous looking-glass;
I, that am rudely stamp'd, and want love's majesty
To strut before a wanton ambling nymph;
I, that am curtail'd of this fair proportion,
Cheated of feature by dissembling nature,
Deform'd, unfinish'd, sent before my time
Into this breathing world, scarce half made up,
And that so lamely and unfashionable
That dogs bark at me as I halt by them;
Why, I, in this weak piping time of peace,
Have no delight to pass away the time,
Unless to spy my shadow in the sun
And descant on mine own deformity:
And therefore, since I cannot prove a lover,
To entertain these fair well-spoken days,
I am determined to prove a villain
And hate the idle pleasures of these days.
Plots have I laid, inductions dangerous,
By drunken prophecies, libels and dreams,
To set my brother Clarence and the king
In deadly hate the one against the other:
And if King Edward be as true and just
As I am subtle, false and treacherous,
This day should Clarence closely be mew'd up,
About a prophecy, which says that G
Of Edward's heirs the murderer shall be.
Dive, thoughts, down to my soul: here Clarence comes.

Enter CLARENCE, *guarded, and* BRAKENBURY.

Brother, good day: what means this armed guard

That waits upon your grace?

Clar. His majesty,
Tendering my person's safety, hath appointed
This conduct to convey me to the Tower.

Glou. Upon what cause?

Clar. Because my name is George.

Glou. Alack, my lord, that fault is none of yours;
He should, for that, commit your godfathers:
Belike his majesty hath some intent
That you shall be new-christen'd in the Tower.
But what's the matter, Clarence? may I know?

Clar. Yea, Richard, when I know; for I protest
As yet I do not: but, as I can learn,
He hearkens after prophecies and dreams:
And from the cross-row plucks the letter G,
And says a wizard told him that by G
His issue disinherited should be;
And, for my name of George begins with G,
It follows in his thought that I am he.
These, as I learn, and such like toys as these
Have moved his highness to commit me now.

Glou. Why, this it is, when men are ruled by women:
'Tis not the king that sends you to the Tower;
My Lady Grey his wife, Clarence, 'tis she
That tempers him to this extremity.
Was it not she and that good man of worship,
Anthony Woodville, her brother there,
That made him send Lord Hastings to the Tower,
From whence this present day he is deliver'd?
We are not safe, Clarence; we are not safe.

Clar. By heaven, I think there's no man is secure
But the queen's kindred and night-walking heralds
That trudge betwixt the king and Mistress Shore.
Heard ye not what an humble suppliant
Lord Hastings was to her for his delivery?

Glou. Humbly complaining to her deity
Got my lord chamberlain his liberty.

I 'll tell you what: I think it is our way,
If we will keep in favour with the king,
To be her men and wear her livery:
The jealous o'erworn widow and herself,
Since that our brother dubb'd them gentlewomen,
Are mighty gossips in this monarchy.

Brak. I beseech your graces both to pardon me;
His majesty hath straitly given in charge
That no man shall have private conference,
Of what degree soever, with his brother.

Glou. Even so; an 't please your worship, Brakenbury,
You may partake of any thing we say:
We speak no treason, man: we say the king
Is wise and virtuous, and his noble queen
Well struck in years, fair, and not jealous;
We say that Shore's wife hath a pretty foot,
A cherry lip, a bonny eye, a passing pleasing tongue;
And that the queen's kindred are made gentle-folks:
How say you, sir? can you deny all this?

Brak. With this, my lord, myself have nought to do.

Glou. Naught to do with Mistress Shore! I tell thee, fellow,
He that doth naught with her, excepting one,
Were best he do it secretly, alone.

Brak. What one, my lord?

Glou. Her husband, knave: wouldst thou betray me?

Brak. I beseech your grace to pardon me, and withal
Forbear your conference with the noble duke.

Clar. We know thy charge, Brakenbury, and will obey.

Glou. We are the queen's abjects, and must obey.
Brother, farewell: I will unto the king;
And whatsoever you will employ me in,
Were it to call King Edward's widow sister,
I will perform it to enfranchise you.
Meantime, this deep disgrace in brotherhood
Touches me deeper than you can imagine.

Clar. I know it pleaseth neither of us well.

Glou. Well, your imprisonment shall not be long;
I will deliver you, or else lie for you:
Meantime, have patience.

Clar. I must perforce. Farewell.

[*Exeunt Clarence, Brakenbury, and Guard.*

Glou. Go, tread the path that thou shalt ne'er return,
Simple, plain Clarence! I do love thee so,
That I will shortly send thy soul to heaven,
If heaven will take the present at our hands.
But who comes here? the new-deliver'd Hastings?

Enter LORD HASTINGS.

Hast. Good time of day unto my gracious lord!

Glou. As much unto my good lord chamberlain!
Well are you welcome to the open air.
How hath your lordship brook'd imprisonment?

Hast. With patience, noble lord, as prisoners must:
But I shall live, my lord, to give them thanks
That were the cause of my imprisonment.

Glou. No doubt, no doubt; and so shall Clarence too;
For they that were your enemies are his,
And have prevail'd as much on him as you.

Hast. More pity that the eagle should be mew'd,
While kites and buzzards prey at liberty.

Glou. What news abroad?

Hast. No news so bad abroad as this at home;
The king is sickly, weak and melancholy,
And his physicians fear him mightily.

Glou. Now, by Saint Paul, this news is bad indeed.
O, he hath kept an evil diet long,
And overmuch consumed his royal person:
'Tis very grievous to be thought upon.
What, is he in his bed?

Hast. He is.

Glou. Go you before, and I will follow you.

[*Exit Hastings.*

He cannot live, I hope; and must not die

Till George be pack'd with post-horse up to heaven.
I 'll in, to urge his hatred more to Clarence,
With lies well steel'd with weighty arguments;
And, if I fail not in my deep intent,
Clarence hath not another day to live:
Which done, God take King Edward to his mercy,
And leave the world for me to bustle in!
For then I 'll marry Warwick's youngest daughter.
What though I kill'd her husband and her father?
The readiest way to make the wench amends
Is to become her husband and her father:
The which will I; not all so much for love
As for another secret close intent,
By marrying her which I must reach unto.
But yet I run before my horse to market:
Clarence still breathes: Edward still lives and reigns:
When they are gone, then must I count my gains. [*Exit.*

SCENE II. *The same. Another street.*

Enter the corpse of KING HENRY the Sixth, Gentlemen *with halberds to guard it;* LADY ANNE *being the mourner.*

Anne. Set down, set down your honourable load,
If honour may be shrouded in a hearse,
Whilst I awhile obsequiously lament
The untimely fall of virtuous Lancaster.
Poor key-cold figure of a holy king!
Pale ashes of the house of Lancaster!
Thou bloodless remnant of that royal blood!
Be it lawful that I invocate thy ghost,
To hear the lamentations of poor Anne,
Wife to thy Edward, to thy slaughter'd son,
Stabb'd by the selfsame hand that made these wounds!
Lo, in these windows that let forth thy life,
I pour the helpless balm of my poor eyes.
Cursed be the hand that made these fatal holes!

Cursed be the heart that had the heart to do it!
Cursed the blood that let this blood from hence!
More direful hap betide that hated wretch,
That makes us wretched by the death of thee,
Than I can wish to adders, spiders, toads,
Or any creeping venom'd thing that lives!
If ever he have child, abortive be it,
Prodigious, and untimely brought to light,
Whose ugly and unnatural aspect
May fright the hopeful mother at the view;
And that be heir to his unhappiness!
If ever he have wife, let her be made
As miserable by the death of him
As I am made by my poor lord and thee!
Come, now towards Chertsey with your holy load,
Taken from Paul's to be interred there;
And still, as you are weary of the weight,
Rest you, whiles I lament King Henry's corse.

Enter GLOUCESTER.

Glou. Stay, you that bear the corse, and set it down.

Anne. What black magician conjures up this fiend,
To stop devoted charitable deeds?

Glou. Villains, set down the corse; or, by Saint Paul,
I 'll make a corse of him that disobeys.

Gent. My lord, stand back, and let the coffin pass.

Glou. Unmanner'd dog! stand thou, when I command:
Advance thy halberd higher than my breast,
Or, by Saint Paul, I 'll strike thee to my foot,
And spurn upon thee, beggar, for thy boldness.

Anne. What, do you tremble? are you all afraid?
Alas, I blame you not; for you are mortal,
And mortal eyes cannot endure the devil.
Avaunt, thou dreadful minister of hell!
Thou hadst but power over his mortal body,
His soul thou canst not have; therefore, be gone.

Glou. Sweet saint, for charity, be not so curst.

Anne. Foul devil, for God's sake, hence, and trouble us not;
For thou hast made the happy earth thy hell,
Fill'd it with cursing cries and deep exclaims.
If thou delight to view thy heinous deeds,
Behold this pattern of thy butcheries.
O, gentlemen, see, see! dead Henry's wounds
Open their congeal'd mouths and bleed afresh!
Blush, blush, thou lump of foul deformity;
For 'tis thy presence that exhales this blood
From cold and empty veins, where no blood dwells;
Thy deed, inhuman and unnatural,
Provokes this deluge most unnatural.
O God, which this blood madest, revenge his death!
O earth, which this blood drink'st, revenge his death!
Either heaven with lightning strike the murderer dead,
Or earth, gape open wide and eat him quick,
As thou dost swallow up this good king's blood,
Which his hell-govern'd arm hath butchered!

Glou. Lady, you know no rules of charity,
Which renders good for bad, blessings for curses.

Anne. Villain, thou know'st no law of God nor man:
No beast so fierce but knows some touch of pity.

Glou. But I know none, and therefore am no beast.

Anne. O wonderful, when devils tell the truth!

Glou. More wonderful, when angels are so angry.
Vouchsafe, divine perfection of a woman.
Of these supposed evils, to give me leave,
By circumstance, but to acquit myself.

Anne. Vouchsafe, defused infection of a man,
For these known evils, but to give me leave,
By circumstance, to curse thy cursed self.

Glou. Fairer than tongue can name thee, let me have
Some patient leisure to excuse myself.

Anne. Fouler than heart can think thee, thou canst make
No excuse current, but to hang thyself.

Glou. By such despair, I should accuse myself.

Anne. And, by despairing, shouldst thou stand excused,
For doing worthy vengeance on thyself,
Which didst unworthy slaughter upon others.

Glou. Say that I slew them not?

Anne. Why, then they are not dead:
But dead they are, and, devilish slave, by thee.

Glou. I did not kill your husband.

Anne. Why, then he is alive.

Glou. Nay, he is dead; and slain by Edward's hand.

Anne. In thy foul throat thou liest: Queen Margaret saw
Thy murderous falchion smoking in his blood;
The which thou once didst bend against her breast,
But that thy brothers beat aside the point.

Glou. I was provoked by her slanderous tongue,
Which laid their guilt upon my guiltless shoulders.

Anne. Thou wast provoked by thy bloody mind,
Which never dreamt on aught but butcheries:
Didst thou not kill this king?

Glou. I grant ye.

Anne. Dost grant me, hedgehog? then, God grant me too
Thou mayst be damned for that wicked deed!
O, he was gentle, mild, and virtuous!

Glou. The fitter for the King of heaven, that hath him.

Anne. He is in heaven, where thou shalt never come.

Glou. Let him thank me, that holp to send him thither:
For he was fitter for that place than earth.

Anne. And thou unfit for any place but hell.

Glou. Yes, one place else, if you will hear me name it.

Anne. Some dungeon.

Glou. Your bed-chamber.

Anne. Ill rest betide the chamber where thou liest!

Glou. So will it, madam, till I lie with you.

Anne. I hope so.

Glou. I know so. But, gentle Lady Anne,

To leave this keen encounter of our wits,
And fall somewhat into a slower method,
Is not the causer of the timeless deaths
Of these Plantagenets, Henry and Edward,
As blameful as the executioner?

Anne. Thou art the cause, and most accursed effect.

Glou. Your beauty was the cause of that effect;
Your beauty, which did haunt me in my sleep
To undertake the death of all the world,
So I might live one hour in your sweet bosom.

Anne. If I thought that, I tell thee, homicide,
These nails should rend that beauty from my cheeks.

Glou. These eyes could never endure sweet beauty's wreck;
You should not blemish it, if I stood by:
As all the world is cheered by the sun,
So I by that; it is my day, my life.

Anne. Black night o'ershade thy day, and death thy life!

Glou. Curse not thyself, fair creature; thou art both.

Anne. I would I were, to be revenged on thee.

Glou. It is a quarrel most unnatural,
To be revenged on him that loveth you.

Anne. It is a quarrel just and reasonable,
To be revenged on him that slew my husband.

Glou. He that bereft thee, lady, of thy husband,
Did it to help thee to a better husband.

Anne. His better doth not breathe upon the earth.

Glou. He lives that loves thee better than he could.

Anne. Name him.

Glou. Plantagenet.

Anne. Why, that was he.

Glou. The selfsame name, but one of better nature.

Anne. Where is he?

Glou. Here. [*She spitteth at him.*] Why dost thou spit at me?

Anne. Would it were mortal poison, for thy sake!

Glou. Never came poison from so sweet a place.

Anne. Never hung poison on a fouler toad.
Out of my sight! thou dost infect my eyes.

Glou. Thine eyes, sweet lady, have infected mine.

Anne. Would they were basilisks, to strike thee dead!

Glou. I would they were, that I might die at once:
For now they kill me with a living death.
Those eyes of thine from mine have drawn salt tears,
Shamed their aspect with store of childish drops:
These eyes, which never shed remorseful tear,
No, when my father York and Edward wept,
To hear the piteous moan that Rutland made
When black-faced Clifford shook his sword at him;
Nor when thy warlike father, like a child,
Told the sad story of my father's death,
And twenty times made pause to sob and weep,
That all the standers-by had wet their cheeks,
Like trees bedash'd with rain: in that sad time
My manly eyes did scorn an humble tear;
And what these sorrows could not thence exhale,
Thy beauty hath, and made them blind with weeping.
I never sued to friend nor enemy;
My tongue could never learn sweet smoothing words;
But, now thy beauty is proposed my fee,
My proud heart sues and prompts my tongue to speak.
[*She looks scornfully at him.*
Teach not thy lips such scorn, for they were made
For kissing, lady, not for such contempt.
If thy revengeful heart cannot forgive,
Lo, here I lend thee this sharp-pointed sword;
Which if thou please to hide in this true bosom,
And let the soul forth that adoreth thee,
I lay it naked to the deadly stroke,
And humbly beg the death upon my knee.
[*He lays his breast open: she offers at it with his sword.*
Nay, do not pause; for I did kill King Henry,

But 'twas thy beauty that provoked me.
Nay, now dispatch; 'twas I that stabb'd young Edward,
But 'twas thy heavenly face that set me on.
[*Here she lets fall the sword.*
Take up the sword again, or take up me.

Anne. Arise, dissembler: though I wish thy death,
I will not be the executioner.

Glou. Then bid me kill myself, and I will do it.

Anne. I have already.

Glou. Tush, that was in thy rage:
Speak it again, and, even with the word,
That hand, which, for thy love, did kill thy love,
Shall, for thy love, kill a far truer love;
To both their deaths thou shalt be accessary.

Anne. I would I knew thy heart.

Glou. 'Tis figured in my tongue.

Anne. I fear me both are false.

Glou. Then never man was true.

Anne. Well, well, put up your sword.

Glou. Say, then, my peace is made.

Anne. That shall you know hereafter.

Glou. But shall I live in hope?

Anne. All men, I hope, live so.

Glou. Vouchsafe to wear this ring.

Anne. To take is not to give.

Glou. Look, how this ring encompasseth thy finger,
Even so thy breast encloseth my poor heart;
Wear both of them, for both of them are thine.
And if thy poor devoted suppliant may
But beg one favour at thy gracious hand,
Thou dost confirm his happiness for ever.

Anne. What is it?

Glou. That it would please thee leave these sad designs
To him that hath more cause to be a mourner,
And presently repair to Crosby Place;

Where, after I have solemnly interr'd
At Chertsey monastery this noble king,
And wet his grave with my repentant tears,
I will with all expedient duty see you:
For divers unknown reasons, I beseech you,
Grant me this boon.

Anne. With all my heart; and much it joys me too,
To see you are become so penitent.
Tressel and Berkeley, go along with me.

Glou. Bid me farewell.

Anne. 'Tis more than you deserve;
But since you teach me how to flatter you,
Imagine I have said farewell already.

[*Exeunt Lady Anne, Tressel, and Berkeley.*

Glou. Sirs, take up the corse.

Gent. Towards Chertsey, noble lord?

Glou. No, to White-Friars; there attend my coming.

[*Exeunt all but Gloucester.*

Was ever woman in this humour woo'd?
Was ever woman in this humour won?
I'll have her; but I will not keep her long.
What! I, that kill'd her husband and his father,
To take her in her heart's extremest hate,
With curses in her mouth, tears in her eyes,
The bleeding witness of her hatred by;
Having God, her conscience, and these bars against me,
And I nothing to back my suit at all,
But the plain devil and dissembling looks,
And yet to win her, all the world to nothing!
Ha!
Hath she forgot already that brave prince,
Edward, her lord, whom I, some three months since,
Stabb'd in my angry mood at Tewksbury?
A sweeter and a lovelier gentleman,
Framed in the prodigality of nature,
Young, valiant, wise, and, no doubt, right royal,
The spacious world cannot again afford:

And will she yet debase her eyes on me,
That cropp'd the golden prime of this sweet prince,
And made her widow to a woful bed?
On me, whose all not equals Edward's moiety?
On me, that halt and am unshapen thus?
My dukedom to a beggarly denier,
I do mistake my person all this while:
Upon my life, she finds, although I cannot,
Myself to be a marvellous proper man.
I 'll be at charges for a looking-glass,
And entertain some score or two of tailors,
To study fashions to adorn my body:
Since I am crept in favour with myself,
I will maintain it with some little cost.
But first I 'll turn yon fellow in his grave;
And then return lamenting to my love.
Shine out, fair sun, till I have bought a glass.
That I may see my shadow as I pass. [*Exit.*

SCENE III. *The palace.*

Enter QUEEN ELIZABETH, LORD RIVERS, *and* LORD GREY.

Riv. Have patience, madam: there's no doubt his majesty
Will soon recover his accustom'd health.

Grey. In that you brook it ill, it makes him worse:
Therefore, for God's sake, entertain good comfort,
And cheer his grace with quick and merry words.

Q. Eliz. If he were dead, what would betide of me?

Riv. No other harm but loss of such a lord.

Q. Eliz. The loss of such a lord includes all harm.

Grey. The heavens have bless'd you with a goodly son,
To be your comforter when he is gone.

Q. Eliz. Oh, he is young, and his minority
Is put unto the trust of Richard Gloucester,
A man that loves not me, nor none of you.

Riv. Is it concluded he shall be protector?

Q. Eliz. It is determined, not concluded yet:
But so it must be, if the king miscarry.

Enter BUCKINGHAM *and* DERBY.

Grey. Here come the lords of Buckingham and Derby.

Buck. Good time of day unto your royal grace!

Der. God make your majesty joyful as you have been!

Q. Eliz. The Countess Richmond, good my Lord of Derby,
To your good prayers will scarcely say amen.
Yet, Derby, notwithstanding she's your wife,
And loves not me, be you, good lord, assured
I hate not you for her proud arrogance.

Der. I do beseech you, either not believe
The envious slanders of her false accusers;
Or, if she be accused in true report,
Bear with her weakness, which, I think, proceeds
From wayward sickness, and no grounded malice.

Riv. Saw you the king to-day, my Lord of Derby?

Der. But now the Duke of Buckingham and I
Are come from visiting his majesty.

Q. Eliz. What likelihood of his amendment, lords?

Buck. Madam, good hope; his grace speaks cheerfully.

Q. Eliz. God grant him health! Did you confer with him?

Buck. Madam, we did: he desires to make atonement
Betwixt the Duke of Gloucester and your brothers,
And betwixt them and my lord chamberlain;
And sent to warn them to his royal presence.

Q. Eliz. Would all were well! but that will never be:
I fear our happiness is at the highest.

Enter GLOUCESTER, HASTINGS, *and* DORSET.

Glou. They do me wrong, and I will not endure it:
Who are they that complain unto the king,
That I, forsooth, am stern and love them not?
By holy Paul, they love his grace but lightly

That fill his ears with such dissentious rumours.
Because I cannot flatter and speak fair,
Smile in men's faces, smooth, deceive and cog,
Duck with French nods and apish courtesy,
I must be held a rancorous enemy.
Cannot a plain man live and think no harm,
But thus his simple truth must be abused
By silken, sly, insinuating Jacks?

Riv. To whom in all this presence speaks your grace?

Glou. To thee, that hast nor honesty nor grace.
When have I injured thee? when done thee wrong?
Or thee? or thee? or any of your faction?
A plague upon you all! His royal person,—
Whom God preserve better than you would wish!—
Cannot be quiet scarce a breathing-while,
But you must trouble him with lewd complaints.

Q. Eliz. Brother of Gloucester, you mistake the matter.
The king, of his own royal disposition,
And not provoked by any suitor else;
Aiming, belike, at your interior hatred,
Which in your outward actions shows itself
Against my kindred, brothers, and myself,
Makes him to send; that thereby he may gather
The ground of your ill-will, and to remove it.

Glou. I cannot tell; the world is grown so bad,
That wrens make prey where eagles dare not perch:
Since every Jack became a gentleman,
There's many a gentle person made a Jack.

Q. Eliz. Come, come, we know your meaning, brother Gloucester;
You envy my advancement and my friends':
God grant we never may have need of you!

Glou. Meantime, God grants that we have need of you:
Our brother is imprison'd by your means,
Myself disgraced, and the nobility
Held in contempt; whilst many fair promotions
Are daily given to ennoble those

That scarce, some two days since, were worth a noble.

Q. Eliz. By Him that raised me to this careful height
From that contented hap which I enjoy'd,
I never did incense his majesty
Against the Duke of Clarence, but have been
An earnest advocate to plead for him.
My lord, you do me shameful injury,
Falsely to draw me in these vile suspects.

Glou. You may deny that you were not the cause
Of my Lord Hastings' late imprisonment.

Riv. She may, my lord, for—

Glou. She may, Lord Rivers! why, who knows not so?
She may do more, sir, than denying that:
She may help you to many fair preferments,
And then deny her aiding hand therein,
And lay those honours on your high deserts.
What may she not? She may, yea, marry, may she,—

Riv. What, marry, may she?

Glou. What, marry, may she! marry with a king,
A bachelor, a handsome stripling too:
I wis your grandam had a worser match.

Q. Eliz. My Lord of Gloucester, I have too long borne
Your blunt upbraidings and your bitter scoffs:
By heaven, I will acquaint his majesty
With those gross taunts I often have endured.
I had rather be a country servant-maid
Than a great queen, with this condition,
To be thus taunted, scorn'd, and baited at:

Enter QUEEN MARGARET, *behind.*

Small joy have I in being England's queen.

Q. Mar. And lessen'd be that small, God, I beseech thee!
Thy honour, state and seat is due to me.

Glou. What! threat you me with telling of the king?
Tell him, and spare not: look, what I have said
I will avouch in presence of the king:

I dare adventure to be sent to the Tower.
'Tis time to speak; my pains are quite forgot.

Q. Mar. Out, devil! I remember them too well:
Thou slewest my husband Henry in the Tower,
And Edward, my poor son, at Tewksbury.

Glou. Ere you were queen, yea, or your husband king,
I was a pack-horse in his great affairs;
A weeder-out of his proud adversaries,
A liberal rewarder of his friends:
To royalise his blood I spilt mine own.

Q. Mar. Yea, and much better blood than his or thine.

Glou. In all which time you and your husband Grey
Were factious for the house of Lancaster;
And, Rivers, so were you. Was not your husband
In Margaret's battle at Saint Alban's slain?
Let me put in your minds, if you forget,
What you have been ere now and what you are;
Withal, what I have been, and what I am.

Q. Mar. A murderous villain, and so still thou art.

Glou. Poor Clarence did forsake his father, Warwick:
Yea, and forswore himself,—which Jesu pardon!—

Q. Mar. Which God revenge!

Glou. To fight on Edward's party for the crown;
And for his meed, poor lord, he is mew'd up.
I would to God my heart were flint, like Edward's;
Or Edward's soft and pitiful, like mine:
I am too childish-foolish for this world.

Q. Mar. Hie thee to hell for shame, and leave the world,
Thou cacodemon! there thy kingdom is.

Riv. My Lord of Gloucester, in those busy days
Which here you urge to prove us enemies,
We follow'd then our lord, our lawful king:
So should we you, if you should be our king.

Glou. If I should be! I had rather be a pedlar:
Far be it from my heart, the thought of it!

Q. Eliz. As little joy, my lord, as you suppose
You should enjoy, were you this country's king,
As little joy may you suppose in me,
That I enjoy, being the queen thereof.

Q. Mar. A little joy enjoys the queen thereof;
For I am she, and altogether joyless,
I can no longer hold me patient. [*Advancing.*
Hear me, you wrangling pirates, that fall out
In sharing that which you have pill'd from me!
Which of you trembles not that looks on me?
If not, that, I being queen, you bow like subjects,
Yet that, by you deposed, you quake like rebels?
O gentle villain, do not turn away!

Glou. Foul wrinkled witch, what makest thou in my sight?

Q. Mar. But repetition of what thou hast marr'd;
That will I make before I let thee go.

Glou. Wert thou not banished on pain of death?

Q. Mar. I was; but I do find more pain in banishment
Than death can yield me here by my abode.
A husband and a son thou owest to me;
And thou a kingdom; all of you allegiance:
The sorrow that I have, by right is yours,
And all the pleasures you usurp are mine.

Glou. The curse my noble father laid on thee,
When thou didst crown his warlike brows with paper
And with thy scorn, drew'st rivers from his eyes,
And, then, to dry them, gavest the duke a clout
Steep'd in the faultless blood of pretty Rutland,—
His curses, then from bitterness of soul
Denounced against thee, are all fall'n upon thee;
And God, not we, hath plagued thy bloody deed.

Q. Eliz. So just is God, to right the innocent.

Hast. O, 'twas the foulest deed to slay that babe,
And the most merciless that e'er was heard of!

Riv. Tyrants themselves wept when it was reported.

Dor. No man but prophesied revenge for it.

Buck. Northumberland, then present, wept to see it.

Q. Mar. What! were you snarling all before I came,
Ready to catch each other by the throat,
And turn you all your hatred now on me?
Did York's dread curse prevail so much with heaven
That Henry's death, my lovely Edward's death,
Their kingdom's loss, my woful banishment,
Could all but answer for that peevish brat?
Can curses pierce the clouds and enter heaven?
Why, then, give way, dull clouds, to my quick curses!
If not by war, by surfeit die your king,
As ours by murder, to make him a king!
Edward thy son, which now is Prince of Wales,
For Edward my son, which was Prince of Wales,
Die in his youth by like untimely violence!
Thyself a queen, for me that was a queen,
Outlive thy glory, like my wretched self!
Long mayst thou live to wail thy children's loss;
And see another, as I see thee now,
Deck'd in thy rights, as thou art stall'd in mine!
Long die thy happy days before thy death;
And, after many lengthen'd hours of grief,
Die neither mother, wife, nor England's queen!
Rivers and Dorset, you were standers by,
And so wast thou, Lord Hastings, when my son
Was stabb'd with bloody daggers: God, I pray him,
That none of you may live your natural age,
But by some unlook'd accident cut off!

Glou. Have done thy charm, thou hateful wither'd hag!

Q. Mar. And leave out thee? stay, dog, for thou shalt hear me.
If heaven have any grievous plague in store
Exceeding those that I can wish upon thee,
O, let them keep it till thy sins be ripe,
And then hurl down their indignation
On thee, the troubler of the poor world's peace!
The worm of conscience still begnaw thy soul!
Thy friends suspect for traitors while thou livest,

And take deep traitors for thy dearest friends!
No sleep close up that deadly eye of thine,
Unless it be whilst some tormenting dream
Affrights thee with a hell of ugly devils!
Thou elvish-mark'd, abortive, rooting hog!
Thou that wast seal'd in thy nativity
The slave of nature and the son of hell!
Thou slander of thy mother's heavy womb!
Thou loathed issue of thy father's loins!
Thou rag of honour! thou detested—

Glou. Margaret.

Q. Mar. Richard!

Glou. Ha!

Q. Mar. I call thee not.

Glou. I cry thee mercy then, for I had thought
That thou hadst call'd me all these bitter names.

Q. Mar. Why, so I did; but look'd for no reply.
O, let me make the period to my curse!

Glou. 'Tis done by me, and ends in 'Margaret.'

Q. Eliz. Thus have you breathed your curse against yourself.

Q. Mar. Poor painted queen, vain flourish of my fortune!
Why strew'st thou sugar on that bottled spider,
Whose deadly web ensnareth thee about?
Fool, fool, thou whet'st a knife to kill thyself.
The time will come when thou shalt wish for me
To help thee curse that poisonous bunch-back'd toad.

Hast. False-boding woman, end thy frantic curse,
Lest to thy harm thou move our patience.

Q. Mar. Foul shame upon you! you have all moved mine.

Riv. Were you well served, you would be taught your duty.

Q. Mar. To serve me well, you all should do me duty,
Teach me to be your queen, and you my subjects:
O, serve me well, and teach yourselves that duty!

Dor. Dispute not with her; she is lunatic.

Q. Mar. Peace, master marquess, you are malapert:
Your fire-new stamp of honour is scarce current.
O, that your young nobility could judge
What 'twere to lose it, and be miserable!
They that stand high have many blasts to shake them;
And if they fall, they dash themselves to pieces.

Glou. Good counsel, marry: learn it, learn it, marquess.

Dor. It toucheth you, my lord, as much as me.

Glou. Yea, and much more: but I was born so high,
Our aery buildeth in the cedar's top,
And dallies with the wind and scorns the sun.

Q. Mar. And turns the sun to shade; alas! alas!
Witness my son, now in the shade of death;
Whose bright out-shining beams thy cloudy wrath
Hath in eternal darkness folded up.
Your aery buildeth in our aery's nest.
O God, that seest it, do not suffer it;
As it was won with blood, lost be it so!

Buck. Have done! for shame, if not for charity.

Q. Mar. Urge neither charity nor shame to me:
Uncharitably with me have you dealt,
And shamefully by you my hopes are butcher'd.
My charity is outrage, life my shame;
And in that shame still live my sorrow's rage!

Buck. Have done, have done.

Q. Mar. O princely Buckingham, I'll kiss thy hand,
In sign of league and amity with thee:
Now fair befall thee and thy noble house!
Thy garments are not spotted with our blood,
Nor thou within the compass of my curse.

Buck. Nor no one here; for curses never pass
The lips of those that breathe them in the air.

Q. Mar. I'll not believe but they ascend the sky,
And there awake God's gentle-sleeping peace.
O Buckingham, take heed of yonder dog!
Look, when he fawns, he bites; and when he bites,
His venom tooth will rankle to the death:

Have not to do with him, beware of him;
Sin, death, and hell have set their marks on him,
And all their ministers attend on him.

Glou. What doth she say, my Lord of Buckingham?

Buck. Nothing that I respect, my gracious lord.

Q. Mar. What, dost thou scorn me for my gentle counsel?
And soothe the devil that I warn thee from?
O, but remember this another day,
When he shall split thy very heart with sorrow,
And say poor Margaret was a prophetess!
Live each of you the subjects to his hate,
And he to yours, and all of you to God's! [*Exit.*

Hast. My hair doth stand on end to hear her curses.

Riv. And so doth mine: I muse why she's at liberty.

Glou. I cannot blame her: by God's holy mother,
She hath had too much wrong; and I repent
My part thereof that I have done to her.

Q. Eliz. I never did her any, to my knowledge.

Glou. But you have all the vantage of her wrong,
I was too hot to do somebody good,
That is too cold in thinking of it now.
Marry, as for Clarence, he is well repaid;
He is frank'd up to fatting for his pains:
God pardon them that are the cause of it!

Riv. A virtuous and a Christian-like conclusion,
To pray for them that have done scathe to us.

Glou. So do I ever: [*Aside*] being well advised.
For had I cursed now, I had cursed myself.

Enter CATESBY.

Cates. Madam, his majesty doth call for you;
And for your grace; and you, my noble lords.

Q. Eliz. Catesby, we come. Lords, will you go with us?

Riv. Madam, we will attend your grace.

[*Exeunt all but Gloucester.*

Glou. I do the wrong, and first begin to brawl.
The secret mischiefs that I set abroach
I lay unto the grievous charge of others.
Clarence, whom I, indeed, have laid in darkness,
I do beweep to many simple gulls;
Namely, to Hastings, Derby, Buckingham;
And say it is the queen and her allies
That stir the king against the duke my brother.
Now, they believe it; and withal whet me
To be revenged on Rivers, Vaughan, Grey:
But then I sigh; and, with a piece of scripture,
Tell them that God bids us do good for evil:
And thus I clothe my naked villany
With old odd ends stolen out of holy writ;
And seem a saint, when most I play the devil.

Enter two Murderers.

But, soft! here come my executioners.
How now, my hardy, stout resolved mates!
Are you now going to dispatch this deed?

First Murd. We are, my lord; and come to have the warrant,
That we may be admitted where he is.

Glou. Well thought upon; I have it here about me.
[*Gives the warrant.*
When you have done, repair to Crosby Place,
But, sirs, be sudden in the execution,
Withal obdurate, do not hear him plead;
For Clarence is well-spoken, and perhaps
May move your hearts to pity, if you mark him.

First Murd. Tush!
Fear not, my lord, we will not stand to prate;
Talkers are no good doers: be assured
We come to use our hands and not our tongues.

Glou. Your eyes drop millstones, when fools' eyes drop tears:
I like you, lads; about your business straight;

Go, go, dispatch.

First Murd. We will, my noble lord. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV. *London. The Tower.*

Enter CLARENCE *and* BRAKENBURY.

Brak. Why looks your grace so heavily to-day?

Clar. O, I have pass'd a miserable night,
So full of ugly sights, of ghastly dreams,
That, as I am a Christian faithful man,
I would not spend another such a night,
Though 'twere to buy a world of happy days,
So full of dismal terror was the time!

Brak. What was your dream? I long to hear you tell it.

Clar. Methoughts that I had broken from the Tower,
And was embark'd to cross to Burgundy;
And, in my company, my brother Gloucester;
Who from my cabin tempted me to walk
Upon the hatches: thence we look'd toward England,
And cited up a thousand fearful times,
During the wars of York and Lancaster
That had befall'n us. As we paced along
Upon the giddy footing of the hatches,
Methought that Gloucester stumbled; and, in falling,
Struck me, that thought to stay him, overboard,
Into the tumbling billows of the main.
Lord, Lord! methought, what pain it was to drown!
What dreadful noise of waters in mine ears!
What ugly sights of death within mine eyes!
Methought I saw a thousand fearful wrecks;
Ten thousand men that fishes gnaw'd upon;
Wedges of gold, great anchors, heaps of pearl,
Inestimable stones, unvalued jewels,
All scatter'd in the bottom of the sea:
Some lay in dead men's skulls; and, in those holes
Where eyes did once inhabit, there were crept,

As 'twere in scorn of eyes, reflecting gems,
Which woo'd the slimy bottom of the deep,
And mock'd the dead bones that lay scatter'd by.

Brak. Had you such leisure in the time of death
To gaze upon the secrets of the deep?

Clar. Methought I had; and often did I strive
To yield the ghost: but still the envious flood
Kept in my soul, and would not let it forth
To seek the empty, vast and wandering air;
But smother'd it within my panting bulk,
Which almost burst to belch it in the sea.

Brak. Awaked you not with this sore agony?

Clar. O, no, my dream was lengthen'd after life;
O, then began the tempest to my soul,
Who pass'd, methought, the melancholy flood,
With that grim ferryman which poets write of,
Unto the kingdom of perpetual night.
The first that there did greet my stranger soul,
Was my great father-in-law, renowned Warwick;
Who cried aloud, 'What scourge for perjury
Can this dark monarchy afford false Clarence?'
And so he vanish'd: then came wandering by
A shadow like an angel, with bright hair
Dabbled in blood; and he squeak'd out aloud,
'Clarence is come; false, fleeting, perjured Clarence,
That stabb'd me in the field by Tewksbury;
Seize on him, Furies, take him to your torments!'
With that, methoughts, a legion of foul fiends
Environ'd me about, and howled in mine ears
Such hideous cries, that with the very noise
I trembling waked, and for a season after
Could not believe but that I was in hell,
Such terrible impression made the dream.

Brak. No marvel, my lord, though it affrighted you;
I promise you, I am afraid to hear you tell it.

Clar. O Brakenbury, I have done those things,
Which now bear evidence against my soul,

For Edward's sake; and see how he requites me!
O God! if my deep prayers cannot appease thee,
But thou wilt be avenged on my misdeeds,
Yet execute thy wrath in me alone,
O, spare my guiltless wife and my poor children!
I pray thee, gentle keeper, stay by me;
My soul is heavy, and I fain would sleep.

Brak. I will, my lord: God give your grace good rest!
[*Clarence sleeps.*

Sorrow breaks seasons and reposing hours,
Makes the night morning, and the noon-tide night.
Princes have but their titles for their glories,
An outward honour for an inward toil;
And, for unfelt imagination,
They often feel a world of restless cares:
So that, betwixt their titles and low names,
There's nothing differs but the outward fame.

Enter the two Murderers.

First Murd. Ho! who's here?

Brak. In God's name what are you, and how came you hither?

First Murd. I would speak with Clarence, and I came hither on my legs.

Brak. Yea, are you so brief?

Sec. Murd. O sir, it is better to be brief than tedious. Shew him our commission; talk no more.
[*Brakenbury reads it.*

Brak. I am, in this, commanded to deliver
The noble Duke of Clarence to your hands:
I will not reason what is meant hereby,
Because I will be guiltless of the meaning.
Here are the keys, there sits the duke asleep:
I'll to the king; and signify to him
That thus I have resign'd my charge to you.

First Murd. Do so, it is a point of wisdom: fare you well.
[*Exit Brakenbury.*

Sec. Murd. What, shall we stab him as he sleeps? 100

First Murd. No; then he will say 'twas done cowardly, when he wakes.

Sec. Murd. When he wakes! why, fool, he shall never wake till the judgement-day.

First Murd. Why, then he will say we stabbed him sleeping.

Sec. Murd. The urging of that word 'judgement' hath bred a kind of remorse in me.

First Murd. What, art thou afraid?

Sec. Murd. Not to kill him, having a warrant for it; but to be damned for killing him, from which no warrant can defend us. 112

First Murd. I thought thou hadst been resolute.

Sec. Murd. So I am, to let him live.

First Murd. Back to the Duke of Gloucester, tell him so.

Sec. Murd. I pray thee, stay a while: I hope my holy humour will change; 'twas wont to hold me but while one would tell twenty.

First Murd. How dost thou feel thyself now?

Sec. Murd. 'Faith, some certain dregs of conscience are yet within me. 121

First Murd. Remember our reward, when the deed is done.

Sec. Murd. 'Zounds, he dies: I had forgot the reward.

First Murd. Where is thy conscience now?

Sec. Murd. In the Duke of Gloucester's purse.

First Murd. So when he opens his purse to give us our reward, thy conscience flies out.

Sec. Murd. Let it go; there 's few or none will entertain it.

First Murd. How if it come to thee again? 130

Sec. Murd. I 'll not meddle with it: it is a dangerous thing: it makes a man a coward: a man cannot steal, but it accuseth him; he cannot swear, but it checks him; he cannot lie with his neighbour's wife, but it detects him:

'tis a blushing shamefast spirit that mutinies in a man's bosom; it fills one full of obstacles: it made me once restore a purse of gold that I found; it beggars any man that keeps it: it is turned out of all towns and cities for a dangerous thing; and every man that means to live well endeavours to trust to himself and to live without it.

First Murd. 'Zounds, it is even now at my elbow, persuading me not to kill the duke.

Sec. Murd. Take the devil in thy mind, and believe him not: he would insinuate with thee but to make thee sigh.

First Murd. Tut, I am strong-framed, he cannot prevail with me, I warrant thee.

Sec. Murd. Spoke like a tall fellow that respects his reputation. Come, shall we to this gear?

First Murd. Take him over the costard with the hilts of thy sword, and then we will chop him in the malmsey-butt in the next room.

Sec. Murd. O excellent device! make a sop of him.

First Murd. Hark! he stirs: shall I strike?

Sec. Murd. No, first let's reason with him.

Clar. Where art thou, keeper? give me a cup of wine.

Sec. Murd. You shall have wine enough, my lord, anon.

Clar. In God's name, what art thou?

Sec. Murd. A man, as you are.

Clar. But not, as I am, royal.

Sec. Murd. Nor you, as we are, loyal.

Clar. Thy voice is thunder, but thy looks are humble.

Sec. Murd. My voice is now the king's, my looks mine own.

Clar. How darkly and how deadly dost thou speak!
Your eyes do menace me: why look you pale?
Who sent you hither? Wherefore do you come?

Both. To, to, to—

Clar. To murder me?

Both. Ay, ay.

Clar. You scarcely have the hearts to tell me so,
And therefore cannot have the hearts to do it.
Wherein, my friends, have I offended you?

First Murd. Offended us you have not, but the king.

Clar. I shall be reconciled to him again.

Sec. Murd. Never, my lord; therefore prepare to die.

Clar. Are you call'd forth from out a world of men
To slay the innocent? What is my offence?
Where are the evidence that do accuse me?
What lawful quest have given their verdict up
Unto the frowning judge? or who pronounced
The bitter sentence of poor Clarence' death?
Before I be convict by course of law,
To threaten me with death is most unlawful.
I charge you, as you hope to have redemption
By Christ's dear blood shed for our grievous sins,
That you depart and lay no hands on me:
The deed you undertake is damnable.

First Murd. What we will do, we do upon command.

Sec. Murd. And he that hath commanded is the king.

Clar. Erroneous vassal! the great King of kings
Hath in the tables of his law commanded
That thou shalt do no murder: and wilt thou then
Spurn at his edict and fulfil a man's?
Take heed; for he holds vengeance in his hands,
To hurl upon their heads that break his law.

Sec. Murd. And that same vengeance doth he hurl on thee,
For false forswearing and for murder too:
Thou didst receive the holy sacrament,
To fight in quarrel of the house of Lancaster.

First Murd. And, like a traitor to the name of God,
Didst break that vow; and with thy treacherous blade
Unrip'dst the bowels of thy sovereign's son.

Sec. Murd. Whom thou wert sworn to cherish and defend.

First Murd. How canst thou urge God's dreadful law to us,
When thou hast broke it in so dear degree?

Clar. Alas! for whose sake did I that ill deed?
For Edward, for my brother, for his sake:
Why, sirs,
He sends ye not to murder me for this;
For in this sin he is as deep as I.
If God will be revenged for this deed,
O, know you yet, he doth it publicly:
Take not the quarrel from his powerful arm;
He needs no indirect nor lawless course
To cut off those that have offended him.

First Murd. Who made thee then a bloody minister,
When gallant-springing brave Plantagenet,
That princely novice, was struck dead by thee?

Clar. My brother's love, the devil, and my rage.

First Murd. Thy brother's love, our duty, and thy fault,
Provoke us hither now to slaughter thee.

Clar. Oh, if you love my brother, hate not me;
I am his brother, and I love him well.
If you be hired for meed, go back again,
And I will send you to my brother Gloucester,
Who shall reward you better for my life
Than Edward will for tidings of my death.

Sec. Murd. You are deceived, your brother Gloucester hates you.

Clar. O, no, he loves me, and he holds me dear:
Go you to him from me.

Both. Ay, so we will.

Clar. Tell him, when that our princely father York
Bless'd his three sons with his victorious arm,
And charged us from his soul to love each other,
He little thought of this divided friendship:
Bid Gloucester think of this, and he will weep.

First Murd. Ay, millstones; as he lesson'd us to weep.

Clar. O, do not slander him, for he is kind.

First Murd. Right,
As snow in harvest. Thou deceivest thyself:
'Tis he that sent us hither now to slaughter thee.

Clar. It cannot be; for when I parted with him,
He hugg'd me in his arms, and swore, with sobs,
That he would labour my delivery.

Sec. Murd. Why, so he doth, now he delivers thee
From this world's thraldom to the joys of heaven.

First Murd. Make peace with God, for you must die, my lord.

Clar. Hast thou that holy feeling in thy soul,
To counsel me to make my peace with God,
And art thou yet to thy own soul so blind,
That thou wilt war with God by murdering me?
Ah, sirs, consider, he that set you on
To do this deed will hate you for the deed.

Sec. Murd. What shall we do?

Clar. Relent, and save your souls.

First Murd. Relent! 'tis cowardly and womanish.

Clar. Not to relent is beastly, savage, devilish.
Which of you, if you were a prince's son,
Being pent from liberty, as I am now,
If two such murderers as yourselves came to you,
Would not entreat for life?
My friend, I spy some pity in thy looks;
O, if thine eye be not a flatterer,
Come thou on my side, and entreat for me,
As you would beg, were you in my distress:
A begging prince what beggar pities not?

Sec. Murd. Look behind you, my lord.

First Murd. Take that, and that: if all this will not do, [*Stabs him.*
I'll drown you in the malmsey-butt within
[*Exit, with the body.*

Sec. Murd. A bloody deed, and desperately dispatch'd!

How fain, like Pilate, would I wash my hands
Of this most grievous guilty murder done!

Re-enter First Murderer.

First Murd. How now! what mean'st thou, that thou help'st me not?
By heavens, the duke shall know how slack thou art!

Sec. Murd. I would he knew that I had saved his brother!
Take thou the fee, and tell him what I say;
For I repent me that the duke is slain. [*Exit.*

First Murd. So do not I: go, coward as thou art.
Now must I hide his body in some hole,
Until the duke take order for his burial:
And when I have my meed, I must away;
For this will out, and here I must not stay.

ACT II.

SCENE I. *London. The palace.*

Flourish. Enter KING EDWARD *sick*, QUEEN ELIZABETH, DORSET, RIVERS, HASTINGS, BUCKINGHAM, GREY, *and others.*

K. Edw. Why, so: now have I done a good day's work:
You peers, continue this united league:
I every day expect an embassage
From my Redeemer to redeem me hence;
And now in peace my soul shall part to heaven,
Since I have set my friends at peace on earth.
Rivers and Hastings, take each other's hand;
Dissemble not your hatred, swear your love.

Riv. By heaven, my soul is purged from grudging hate;
And with my hand I seal my true heart's love.

Hast. So thrive I, as I truly swear the like!

K. Edw. Take heed you dally not before your king;
Lest he that is the supreme King of kings

Confound your hidden falsehood, and award
Either of you to be the other's end.

Hast. So prosper I, as I swear perfect love!

Riv. And I, as I love Hastings with my heart!

K. Edw. Madam, yourself are not exempt in this,
Nor your son Dorset, Buckingham, nor you;
You have been factious one against the other.
Wife, love Lord Hastings, let him kiss your hand;
And what you do, do it unfeignedly.

Q. Eliz. Here, Hastings; I will never more remember
Our former hatred, so thrive I and mine!

K. Edw. Dorset, embrace him; Hastings, love lord marquess.

Dor. This interchange of love, I here protest,
Upon my part shall be unviolable.

Hast. And so swear I, my lord. [*They embrace.*

K. Edw. Now, princely Buckingham, seal thou this league
With thy embracements to my wife's allies,
And make me happy in your unity.

Buck. [*To the Queen*] Whenever Buckingham doth turn his hate
On you or yours, but with all duteous love
Doth cherish you and yours, God punish me
With hate in those where I expect most love!
When I have most need to employ a friend,
And most assured that he is a friend,
Deep, hollow, treacherous, and full of guile,
Be he unto me! this do I beg of God,
When I am cold in zeal to you or yours. [*They embrace.*

K. Edw. A pleasing cordial, princely Buckingham,
Is this thy vow unto my sickly heart.
There wanteth now our brother Gloucester here,
To make the perfect period of this peace.

Buck. And, in good time, here comes the noble duke.

Enter GLOUCESTER.

Glou. Good morrow to my sovereign king and queen;

And, princely peers, a happy time of day!

K. Edw. Happy, indeed, as we have spent the day.
Brother, we have done deeds of charity;
Made peace of enmity, fair love of hate,
Between these swelling wrong-incensed peers.

Glou. A blessed labour, my most sovereign liege:
Amongst this princely heap, if any here,
By false intelligence, or wrong surmise,
Hold me a foe;
If I unwittingly, or in my rage,
Have aught committed that is hardly borne
By any in this presence, I desire
To reconcile me to his friendly peace:
'Tis death to me to be at enmity;
I hate it, and desire all good men's love.
First, madam, I entreat true peace of you,
Which I will purchase with my duteous service;
Of you, my noble cousin Buckingham,
If ever any grudge were lodged between us;
Of you, Lord Rivers, and, Lord Grey, of you;
That all without desert have frown'd on me;
Dukes, earls, lords, gentlemen; indeed, of all.
I do not know that Englishman alive
With whom my soul is any jot at odds
More than the infant that is born to-night:
I thank my God for my humility.

Q. Eliz. A holy day shall this be kept hereafter:
I would to God all strifes were well compounded.
My sovereign liege, I do beseech your majesty
To take our brother Clarence to your grace.

Glou. Why, madam, have I offer'd love for this,
To be so flouted in this royal presence?
Who knows not that the noble duke is dead?
[*They all start.*
You do him injury to scorn his corse.

Riv. Who knows not he is dead! who knows he is?

Q. Eliz. All-seeing heaven, what a world is this!

Buck. Look I so pale, Lord Dorset, as the rest?

Dor. Ay, my good lord; and no one in this presence
But his red colour hath forsook his cheeks.

K. Edw. Is Clarence dead? the order was reversed.

Glou. But he, poor soul, by your first order died,
And that a winged Mercury did bear;
Some tardy cripple bore the countermand,
That came too lag to see him buried.
God grant that some, less noble and less loyal,
Nearer in bloody thoughts, but not in blood,
Deserve not worse than wretched Clarence did,
And yet go current from suspicion!

Enter DERBY.

Der. A boon, my sovereign, for my service done!

K. Edw. I pray thee, peace: my soul is full of sorrow.

Der. I will not rise, unless your highness grant.

K. Edw. Then speak at once what is it thou demand'st.

Der. The forfeit, sovereign, of my servant's life;
Who slew to-day a riotous gentleman
Lately attendant on the Duke of Norfolk.

K. Edw. Have I a tongue to doom my brother's death,
And shall that tongue give pardon to a slave?
My brother slew no man; his fault was thought,
And yet his punishment was cruel death.
Who sued to me for him? who, in my rage,
Kneel'd at my feet, and bade me be advised?
Who spake of brotherhood? who spake of love?
Who told me how the poor soul did forsake
The mighty Warwick, and did fight for me?
Who told me, in the field by Tewksbury,
When Oxford had me down, he rescued me,
And said, 'Dear brother, live, and be a king'?
Who told me, when we both lay in the field
Frozen almost to death, how he did lap me
Even in his own garments, and gave himself,
All thin and naked, to the numb cold night?

All this from my remembrance brutish wrath
Sinfully pluck'd, and not a man of you
Had so much grace to put it in my mind.
But when your carters or your waiting-vassals
Have done a drunken slaughter, and defaced
The precious image of our dear Redeemer,
You straight are on your knees for pardon, pardon;
And I, unjustly too, must grant it you:
But for my brother not a man would speak,
Nor I, ungracious, speak unto myself
For him, poor soul. The proudest of you all
Have been beholding to him in his life;
Yet none of you would once plead for his life.
O God, I fear thy justice will take hold
On me, and you, and mine, and yours for this!
Come, Hastings, help me to my closet. Oh, poor Clarence!
[*Exeunt some with King and Queen.*

Glou. This is the fruit of rashness. Mark'd you not
How that the guilty kindred of the queen
Look'd pale when they did hear of Clarence' death?
O, they did urge it still unto the king!
God will revenge it. But come, let us in,
To comfort Edward with our company.

Buck. We wait upon your grace. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II. *The palace.*

Enter the DUCHESS OF YORK, *with the two children of* CLARENCE.

Boy. Tell me, good grandam, is our father dead?

Duch. No, boy.

Boy. Why do you wring your hands, and beat your breast,
And cry 'O Clarence, my unhappy son'?

Girl. Why do you look on us, and shake your head,
And call us wretches, orphans, castaways,
If that our noble father be alive?

Duch. My pretty cousins, you mistake me much;
I do lament the sickness of the king,
As loath to lose him, not your father's death;
It were lost sorrow to wail one that 's lost.

Boy. Then, grandam, you conclude that he is dead.
The king my uncle is to blame for this:
God will revenge it; whom I will importune
With daily prayers all to that effect.

Girl. And so will I.

Duch. Peace, children, peace! the king doth love you well:
Incapable and shallow innocents,
You cannot guess who caused your father's death.

Boy. Grandam, we can; for my good uncle Gloucester
Told me, the king, provoked by the queen,
Devised impeachments to imprison him:
And when my uncle told me so, he wept,
And hugg'd me in his arm, and kindly kiss'd my cheek;
Bade me rely on him as on my father,
And he would love me dearly as his child.

Duch. Oh, that deceit should steal such gentle shapes,
And with a virtuous vizard hide foul guile!
He is my son; yea, and therein my shame;
Yet from my dugs he drew not this deceit.

Son. Think you my uncle did dissemble, grandam?

Duch. Ay, boy.

Son. I cannot think it. Hark! what noise is this?

Enter QUEEN ELIZABETH, *with her hair about her ears;* RIVERS *and* DORSET *after her.*

Q. Eliz. Oh, who shall hinder me to wail and weep,
To chide my fortune, and torment myself?
I 'll join with black despair against my soul,
And to myself become an enemy.

Duch. What means this scene of rude impatience?

Q. Eliz. To make an act of tragic violence:

Edward, my lord, your son, our king, is dead.
Why grow the branches now the root is wither'd?
Why wither not the leaves the sap being gone?
If you will live, lament; if die, be brief,
That our swift-winged souls may catch the king's:
Or, like obedient subjects, follow him
To his new kingdom of perpetual rest.

Duch. Ah, so much interest have I in thy sorrow
As I had title in thy noble husband!
I have bewept a worthy husband's death,
And lived by looking on his images:
But now two mirrors of his princely semblance
Are crack'd in pieces by malignant death,
And I for comfort have but one false glass,
Which grieves me when I see my shame in him.
Thou art a widow; yet thou art a mother,
And hast the comfort of thy children left thee:
But death hath snatch'd my husband from mine arms,
And pluck'd two crutches from my feeble limbs,
Edward and Clarence. O, what cause have I,
Thine being but a moiety of my grief,
To overgo thy plaints and drown thy cries!

Boy. Good aunt, you wept not for our father's death;
How can we aid you with our kindred tears?

Girl. Our fatherless distress was left unmoan'd;
Your widow-dolour likewise be unwept!

Q. Eliz. Give me no help in lamentation;
I am not barren to bring forth complaints:
All springs reduce their currents to mine eyes,
That I, being govern'd by the watery moon,
May send forth plenteous tears to drown the world!
Oh for my husband, for my dear lord Edward!

Chil. Oh for our father, for our dear lord Clarence!

Duch. Alas for both, both mine, Edward and Clarence!

Q. Eliz. What stay had I but Edward? and he's gone.

Chil. What stay had we but Clarence? and he's gone.

Duch. What stays had I but they? and they are gone.

Q. Eliz. Was never widow had so dear a loss.

Chil. Were never orphans had so dear a loss.

Duch. Was never mother had so dear a loss.
Alas, I am the mother of these moans!
Their woes are parcell'd, mine are general.
She for an Edward weeps, and so do I;
I for a Clarence weep, so doth not she:
These babes for Clarence weep, and so do I;
I for an Edward weep, so do not they:
Alas, you three, on me, threefold distress'd,
Pour all your tears! I am your sorrow's nurse,
And I will pamper it with lamentations.

Dor. Comfort, dear mother: God is much displeased
That you take with unthankfulness his doing:
In common worldly things, 'tis call'd ungrateful,
With dull unwillingness to repay a debt
Which with a bounteous hand was kindly lent;
Much more to be thus opposite with heaven,
For it requires the royal debt it lent you.

Riv. Madam, bethink you, like a careful mother,
Of the young prince your son: send straight for him;
Let him be crown'd; in him your comfort lives:
Drown desperate sorrow in dead Edward's grave,
And plant your joys in living Edward's throne.

Enter GLOUCESTER, BUCKINGHAM, DERBY, HASTINGS, *and* RATCLIFF.

Glou. Madam, have comfort: all of us have cause
To wail the dimming of our shining star;
But none can cure their harms by wailing them.
Madam, my mother, I do cry you mercy;
I did not see your grace: humbly on my knee
I crave your blessing.

Duch. God bless thee, and put meekness in thy mind,
Love, charity, obedience, and true duty!

Glou. [*Aside*] Amen; and make me die a good old man!

That is the butt-end of a mother's blessing:
I marvel why her grace did leave it out.

Buck. You cloudy princes and heart-sorrowing peers,
That bear this mutual heavy load of moan,
Now cheer each other in each other's love:
Though we have spent our harvest of this king,
We are to reap the harvest of his son.
The broken rancour of your high-swoln hearts,
But lately splinter'd, knit, and join'd together,
Must gently be preserved, cherish'd, and kept:
Me seemeth good, that, with some little train,
Forthwith from Ludlow the young prince be fetch'd
Hither to London, to be crown'd our king.

Riv. Why with some little train, my Lord of Buckingham?

Buck. Marry, my lord, lest, by a multitude,
The new-heal'd wound of malice should break out;
Which would be so much the more dangerous,
By how much the estate is green and yet ungovern'd:
Where every horse bears his commanding rein,
And may direct his course as please himself,
As well the fear of harm, as harm apparent,
In my opinion, ought to be prevented.

Glou. I hope the king made peace with all of us;
And the compact is firm and true in me.

Riv. And so in me; and so, I think, in all:
Yet, since it is but green, it should be put
To no apparent likelihood of breach,
Which haply by much company might be urged:
Therefore I say with noble Buckingham,
That it is meet so few should fetch the prince.

Hast. And so say I.

Glou. Then be it so; and go we to determine
Who they shall be that straight shall post to Ludlow.
Madam, and you, my mother, will you go
To give your censures in this weighty business?

Q. Eliz. } With all our hearts.
Duch. }
[*Exeunt all but Buckingham and Gloucester.*

Buck. My Lord, whoever journeys to the prince,
For God's sake, let not us two be behind;
For, by the way, I 'll sort occasion,
As index to the story we late talk'd of,
To part the queen's proud kindred from the king.

Glou. My other self, my counsel's consistory,
My oracle, my prophet! My dear cousin,
I, like a child, will go by thy direction.
Towards Ludlow then, for we 'll not stay behind. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III. *London. A street.*

Enter two Citizens, *meeting.*

First Cit. Neighbour, well met: whither away so fast?

Sec. Cit. I promise you, I scarcely know myself:
Hear you the news abroad?

First Cit. Ay, that the king is dead.

Sec. Cit. Bad news, by 'r lady; seldom comes the better:
I fear, I fear 'twill prove a troublous world.

Enter another Citizen.

Third Cit. Neighbours, God speed!

First Cit. Give you good morrow, sir.

Third Cit. Doth this news hold of good King Edward's death?

Sec. Cit. Ay, sir, it is too true; God help the while!

Third Cit. Then, masters, look to see a troublous world.

First Cit. No, no; by God's good grace his son shall reign.

Third Cit. Woe to that land that 's govern'd by a child!

Sec. Cit. In him there is a hope of government,
That in his nonage council under him,

And in his full and ripen'd years himself,
No doubt, shall then and till then govern well.

First Cit. So stood the state when Henry the Sixth
Was crown'd in Paris but at nine months old.

Third Cit. Stood the state so? No, no, good friends, God wot;
For then this land was famously enrich'd
With politic grave counsel; then the king
Had virtuous uncles to protect his grace.

First Cit. Why, so hath this, both by the father and mother.

Third Cit. Better it were they all came by the father,
Or by the father there were none at all;
For emulation now, who shall be nearest,
Will touch us all too near, if God prevent not.
O, full of danger is the Duke of Gloucester!
And the queen's sons and brothers haught and proud:
And were they to be ruled, and not to rule,
This sickly land might solace as before.

First Cit. Come, come, we fear the worst; all shall be well.

Third Cit. When clouds appear, wise men put on their cloaks;
When great leaves fall, the winter is at hand;
When the sun sets, who doth not look for night?
Untimely storms make men expect a dearth.
All may be well; but, if God sort it so,
'Tis more than we deserve, or I expect.

Sec. Cit. Truly, the souls of men are full of dread:
Ye cannot reason almost with a man
That looks not heavily and full of fear.

Third Cit. Before the times of change, still is it so:
By a divine instinct men's minds mistrust
Ensuing dangers; as, by proof, we see
The waters swell before a boisterous storm.
But leave it all to God. Whither away?

Sec. Cit. Marry, we were sent for to the justices.

Third Cit. And so was I: I'll bear you company.
[*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV. *London. The palace.*

Enter the ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, *the young* DUKE OF YORK, QUEEN ELIZABETH, *and the* DUCHESS OF YORK.

Arch. Last night, I hear, they lay at Northampton;
At Stony-Stratford will they be to-night:
To-morrow, or next day, they will be here.

Duch. I long with all my heart to see the prince:
I hope he is much grown since last I saw him.

Q. Eliz. But I hear, no; they say my son of York
Hath almost overta'en him in his growth.

York. Ay, mother; but I would not have it so.

Duch. Why, my young cousin, it is good to grow.

York. Grandam, one night, as we did sit at supper,
My uncle Rivers talk'd how I did grow
More than my brother: 'Ay,' quoth my uncle Gloucester,
'Small herbs have grace, great weeds do grow apace:'
And since, methinks, I would not grow so fast,
Because sweet flowers are slow and weeds make haste.

Duch. Good faith, good faith, the saying did not hold
In him that did object the same to thee:
He was the wretched'st thing when he was young,
So long a-growing and so leisurely,
That, if this rule were true, he should be gracious.

Arch. Why, madam, so, no doubt, he is.

Duch. I hope he is; but yet let mothers doubt.

York. Now, by my troth, if I had been remember'd,
I could have given my uncle's grace a flout,
To touch his growth nearer than he touch'd mine.

Duch. How, my pretty York? I pray thee, let me hear it.

York. Marry, they say my uncle grew so fast
That he could gnaw a crust at two hours old:

'Twas full two years ere I could get a tooth.
Grandam, this would have been a biting jest.

Duch. I pray thee, pretty York, who told thee this?

York. Grandam, his nurse.

Duch. His nurse! why, she was dead ere thou wert born.

York. If 'twere not she, I cannot tell who told me.

Q. Eliz. A parlous boy: go to, you are too shrewd.

Arch. Good madam, be not angry with the child.

Q. Eliz. Pitchers have ears.

Enter a Messenger.

Arch. Here comes a messenger. What news?

Mess. Such news, my lord, as grieves me to unfold.

Q. Eliz. How fares the prince?

Mess. Well, madam, and in health.

Duch. What is thy news then?

Mess. Lord Rivers and Lord Grey are sent to Pomfret,
With them Sir Thomas Vaughan, prisoners.

Duch. Who hath committed them?

Mess. The mighty dukes
Gloucester and Buckingham.

Q. Eliz. For what offence?

Mess. The sum of all I can, I have disclosed;
Why or for what these nobles were committed
Is all unknown to me, my gracious lady.

Q. Eliz. Ay me, I see the downfall of our house!
The tiger now hath seized the gentle hind;
Insulting tyranny begins to jet
Upon the innocent and aweless throne:
Welcome, destruction, death, and massacre!
I see, as in a map, the end of all.

Duch. Accursed and unquiet wrangling days,
How many of you have mine eyes beheld!
My husband lost his life to get the crown;
And often up and down my sons were toss'd,

For me to joy and weep their gain and loss:
And being seated, and domestic broils
Clean over-blown, themselves, the conquerors,
Make war upon themselves; blood against blood,
Self against self: O, preposterous
And frantic outrage, end thy damned spleen;
Or let me die, to look on death no more!

Q. Eliz. Come, come, my boy; we will to sanctuary. Madam, farewell.

Duch. I 'll go along with you.

Q. Eliz. You have no cause.

Arch. My gracious lady, go;
And thither bear your treasure and your goods.
For my part, I 'll resign unto your grace
The seal I keep: and so betide to me
As well I tender you and all of yours!
Come, I'll conduct you to the sanctuary. [*Exeunt.*

ACT III.

SCENE I. *London. A street.*

The trumpets sound. Enter the young PRINCE, *the Dukes of* GLOUCESTER *and* BUCKINGHAM, CARDINAL BOURCHIER, CATESBY, *and others.*

Buck. Welcome, sweet prince, to London, to your chamber.

Glou. Welcome, dear cousin, my thoughts' sovereign: The weary way hath made you melancholy.

Prince. No, uncle; but our crosses on the way
Have made it tedious, wearisome, and heavy:
I want more uncles here to welcome me.

Glou. Sweet prince, the untainted virtue of your years Hath not yet dived into the world's deceit:

Nor more can you distinguish of a man
Than of his outward show; which, God he knows,
Seldom or never jumpeth with the heart.
Those uncles which you want were dangerous;
Your grace attended to their sugar'd words,
But look'd not on the poison of their hearts:
God keep you from them, and from such false friends!

Prince. God keep me from false friends! but they were none.

Glou. My lord, the mayor of London comes to greet you.

Enter the Lord Mayor, *and his train.*

May. God bless your grace with health and happy days!

Prince. I thank you, good my lord; and thank you all.
I thought my mother, and my brother York,
Would long ere this have met us on the way:
Fie, what a slug is Hastings, that he comes not
To tell us whether they will come or no!

Enter Lord Hastings.

Buck. And, in good time, here comes the sweating lord.

Prince. Welcome, my lord: what, will our mother come?

Hast. On what occasion, God he knows, not I,
The queen your mother, and your brother York,
Have taken sanctuary: the tender prince
Would fain have come with me to meet your grace,
But by his mother was perforce withheld.

Buck. Fie, what an indirect and peevish course
Is this of hers! Lord cardinal, will your grace
Persuade the queen to send the Duke of York
Unto his princely brother presently?
If she deny, Lord Hastings, go with him,
And from her jealous arms pluck him perforce.

Card. My Lord of Buckingham, if my weak oratory
Can from his mother win the Duke of York,

Anon expect him here; but if she be obdurate
To mild entreaties, God in heaven forbid
We should infringe the holy privilege
Of blessed sanctuary! not for all this land
Would I be guilty of so deep a sin.

Buck. You are too senseless-obstinate, my lord,
Too ceremonious and traditional:
Weigh it but with the grossness of this age,
You break not sanctuary in seizing him.
The benefit thereof is always granted
To those whose dealings have deserved the place,
And those who have the wit to claim the place:
This prince hath neither claim'd it nor deserved it;
And therefore, in mine opinion, cannot have it:
Then, taking him from thence that is not there,
You break no privilege nor charter there.
Oft have I heard of sanctuary men;
But sanctuary children ne'er till now.

Card. My lord, you shall o'er-rule my mind for once.
Come on, Lord Hastings, will you go with me?

Hast. I go, my lord.

Prince. Good lords, make all the speedy haste you may. [*Exeunt Cardinal and Hastings.*
Say, uncle Gloucester, if our brother come,
Where shall we sojourn till our coronation?

Glou. Where it seems best unto your royal self.
If I may counsel you, some day or two
Your highness shall repose you at the Tower:
Then where you please, and shall be thought most fit
For your best health and recreation.

Prince. I do not like the Tower, of any place.
Did Julius Cæsar build that place, my lord?

Buck. He did, my gracious lord, begin that place;
Which, since, succeeding ages have re-edified.

Prince. Is it upon record, or else reported
Successively from age to age, he built it?

Buck. Upon record, my gracious lord.

Prince. But say, my lord, it were not register'd,
Methinks the truth should live from age to age,
As 'twere retail'd to all posterity,
Even to the general all-ending day.

Glou. [*Aside*] So wise so young, they say, do never live long.

Prince. What say you, uncle? 80

Glou. I say, without characters, fame lives long.
[*Aside*] Thus, like the formal vice, Iniquity,
I moralize two meanings in one word.

Prince. That Julius Cæsar was a famous man;
With what his valour did enrich his wit,
His wit set down to make his valour live:
Death makes no conquest of this conqueror;
For now he lives in fame, though not in life.
I 'll tell you what, my cousin Buckingham,—

Buck. What, my gracious lord? 90

Prince. An if I live until I be a man,
I 'll win our ancient right in France again,
Or die a soldier, as I lived a king.

Glou. [*Aside*] Short summers lightly have a forward spring.

Enter young YORK, HASTINGS, *and the* CARDINAL.

Buck. Now, in good time, here comes the Duke of York.

Prince. Richard of York! how fares our loving brother?

York. Well, my dread lord; so must I call you now.

Prince. Ay, brother, to our grief, as it is yours:
Too late he died that might have kept that title,
Which by his death hath lost much majesty. 100

Glou. How fares our cousin, noble Lord of York?

York. I thank you, gentle uncle. O, my lord,
You said that idle weeds are fast in growth:
The prince my brother hath outgrown me far.

Glou. He hath, my lord.

York. And therefore is he idle?

Glou. O, my fair cousin, I must not say so.

York. Then is he more beholding to you than I.

Glou. He may command me as my sovereign;
But you have power in me as in a kinsman.

York. I pray you, uncle, give me this dagger.

Glou. My dagger, little cousin? with all my heart.

Prince. A beggar, brother?

York. Of my kind uncle, that I know will give;
And being but a toy, which is no grief to give.

Glou. A greater gift than that I'll give my cousin.

York. A greater gift! O, that's the sword to it.

Glou. Ay, gentle cousin, were it light enough.

York. O, then, I see, you will part but with light gifts;
In weightier things you'll say a beggar nay.

Glou. It is too heavy for your grace to wear.

York. I weigh it lightly, were it heavier.

Glou. What, would you have my weapon, little lord?

York. I would, that I might thank you as you call me.

Glou. How?

York. Little.

Prince. My Lord of York will still be cross in talk:
Uncle, your grace knows how to bear with him.

York. You mean, to bear me, not to bear with me:
Uncle, my brother mocks both you and me;
Because that I am little, like an ape,
He thinks that you should bear me on your shoulders.

Buck. With what a sharp-provided wit he reasons!
To mitigate the scorn he gives his uncle,
He prettily and aptly taunts himself:
So cunning and so young is wonderful.

Glou. My lord, will't please you pass along?
Myself and my good cousin Buckingham
Will to your mother, to entreat of her
To meet you at the Tower and welcome you.

York. What, will you go unto the Tower, my lord?

Prince. My lord protector needs will have it so.
York. I shall not sleep in quiet at the Tower.
Glou. Why, what should you fear?
York. Marry, my uncle Clarence' angry ghost:
My grandam told me he was murder'd there.
Prince. I fear no uncles dead.
Glou. Nor none that live, I hope.
Prince. An if they live, I hope I need not fear.
But come, my lord; and with a heavy heart,
Thinking on them, go I unto the Tower.

[*A Sennet. Exeunt all but Gloucester, Buckingham and Catesby.*

Buck. Think you, my lord, this little prating York
Was not incensed by his subtle mother
To taunt and scorn you thus opprobriously?
Glou. No doubt, no doubt: O, 'tis a parlous boy;
Bold, quick, ingenious, forward, capable:
He is all the mother's, from the top to toe.
Buck. Well, let them rest. Come hither, Catesby.
Thou art sworn as deeply to effect what we intend
As closely to conceal what we impart:
Thou know'st our reasons urged upon the way;
What think'st thou? is it not an easy matter
To make William Lord Hastings of our mind,
For the instalment of this noble duke
In the seat royal of this famous isle?
Cate. He for his father's sake so loves the prince,
That he will not be won to aught against him.
Buck. What think'st thou, then, of Stanley? what will he?
Cate. He will do all in all as Hastings doth.
Buck. Well, then, no more but this: go, gentle Catesby,
And, as it were far off, sound thou Lord Hastings,
How he doth stand affected to our purpose;
And summon him to-morrow to the Tower,
To sit about the coronation.

If thou dost find him tractable to us,
Encourage him, and show him all our reasons:
If he be leaden, icy-cold, unwilling,
Be thou so too; and so break off your talk,
And give us notice of his inclination:
For we to-morrow hold divided councils,
Wherein thyself shalt highly be employ'd.

Glou. Commend me to Lord William: tell him, Catesby,
His ancient knot of dangerous adversaries
To-morrow are let blood at Pomfret-castle;
And bid my friend, for joy of this good news,
Give Mistress Shore one gentle kiss the more.

Buck. Good Catesby, go, effect this business soundly.

Cate. My good lords both, with all the heed I may.

Glou. Shall we hear from you, Catesby, ere we sleep?

Cate. You shall, my lord.

Glou. At Crosby Place, there shall you find us both.
[*Exit Catesby.*

Buck. Now, my lord, what shall we do, if we perceive
Lord Hastings will not yield to our complots?

Glou. Chop off his head, man; somewhat we will do:
And, look, when I am king, claim thou of me
The earldom of Hereford, and the moveables
Whereof the king my brother stood possess'd.

Buck. I'll claim that promise at your grace's hands.

Glou. And look to have it yielded with all willingness.
Come, let us sup betimes, that afterwards
We may digest our complots in some form. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II. *Before Lord Hastings' house.*

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. What, ho! my lord!

Hast. [*Within*] Who knocks at the door?

Mess. A messenger from the Lord Stanley.

Enter LORD HASTINGS.

Hast. What is 't o'clock?

Mess. Upon the stroke of four.

Hast. Cannot thy master sleep these tedious nights?

Mess. So it should seem by that I have to say.
First, he commends him to your noble lordship.

Hast. And then?

Mess. And then he sends you word
He dreamt to-night the boar had razed his helm:
Besides, he says there are two councils held;
And that may be determined at the one
Which may make you and him to rue at the other.
Therefore he sends to know your lordship's pleasure,
If presently you will take horse with him,
And with all speed post with him toward the north,
To shun the danger that his soul divines.

Hast. Go, fellow, go, return unto thy lord;
Bid him not fear the separated councils:
His honour and myself are at the one,
And at the other is my servant Catesby;
Where nothing can proceed that toucheth us
Whereof I shall not have intelligence.
Tell him his fears are shallow, wanting instance:
And for his dreams, I wonder he is so fond
To trust the mockery of unquiet slumbers:
To fly the boar before the boar pursues,
Were to incense the boar to follow us
And make pursuit where he did mean no chase.
Go, bid thy master rise and come to me;
And we will both together to the Tower,
Where, he shall see, the boar will use us kindly.

Mess. My gracious lord, I 'll tell him what you say.
[*Exit.*

Enter CATESBY.

Cate. Many good morrows to my noble lord!

Hast. Good morrow, Catesby; you are early stirring:

What news, what news, in this our tottering state?

Cate. It is a reeling world, indeed, my lord;
And I believe 'twill never stand upright
Till Richard wear the garland of the realm.

Hast. How! wear the garland! dost thou mean the crown?

Cate. Ay, my good lord.

Hast. I'll have this crown of mine cut from my shoulders
Ere I will see the crown so foul misplaced.
But canst thou guess that he doth aim at it?

Cate. Ay, on my life; and hopes to find you forward
Upon his party for the gain thereof:
And thereupon he sends you this good news,
That this same very day your enemies,
The kindred of the queen, must die at Pomfret.

Hast. Indeed, I am no mourner for that news,
Because they have been still mine enemies:
But, that I'll give my voice on Richard's side,
To bar my master's heirs in true descent,
God knows I will not do it, to the death.

Cate. God keep your lordship in that gracious mind!

Hast. But I shall laugh at this a twelve-month hence,
That they who brought me in my master's hate,
I live to look upon their tragedy.
I tell thee, Catesby,—

Cate. What, my lord?

Hast. Ere a fortnight make me elder,
I'll send some packing that yet think not on it.

Cate. 'Tis a vile thing to die, my gracious lord,
When men are unprepared and look not for it.

Hast. O monstrous, monstrous! and so falls it out
With Rivers, Vaughan, Grey: and so 'twill do
With some men else, who think themselves as safe
As thou and I; who, as thou know'st, are dear
To princely Richard and to Buckingham.

Cate. The princes both make high account of you;
[*Aside*] For they account his head upon the bridge.

Hast. I know they do; and I have well deserved it.

Enter LORD STANLEY.

Come on, come on; where is your boar-spear, man?
Fear you the boar, and go so unprovided?

Stan. My lord, good morrow; good morrow, Catesby:
You may jest on, but, by the holy rood,
I do not like these several councils, I.

Hast. My lord,
I hold my life as dear as you do yours;
And never in my life, I do protest,
Was it more precious to me than 'tis now:
Think you, but that I know our state secure,
I would be so triumphant as I am?

Stan. The lords at Pomfret, when they rode from London,
Were jocund, and supposed their state was sure,
And they indeed had no cause to mistrust;
But yet, you see, how soon the day o'ercast.
This sudden stab of rancour I misdoubt:
Pray God, I say, I prove a needless coward!
What, shall we toward the Tower? the day is spent.

Hast. Come, come, have with you. Wot you what, my lord?
To-day the lords you talk of are beheaded.

Stan. They, for their truth, might better wear their heads
Than some that have accused them wear their hats.
But come, my lord, let us away.

Enter a Pursuivant.

Hast. Go on before; I'll talk with this good fellow.
[*Exeunt Stanley and Catesby.*
How now, sirrah! how goes the world with thee?

Purs. The better than your lordship please to ask.

Hast. I tell thee, man, 'tis better with me now
Than when I met thee last where now we meet:
Then was I going prisoner to the Tower,
By the suggestion of the queen's allies;
But now, I tell thee—keep it to thyself—
This day those enemies are put to death,
And I in better state than e'er I was.

Purs. God hold it, to your honour's good content!

Hast. Gramercy, fellow: there, drink that for me.
[*Throws him his purse.*

Purs. God save your lordship! [*Exit.*

Enter a Priest.

Priest. Well met, my lord; I am glad to see your honour.

Hast. I thank thee, good Sir John, with all my heart.
I am in your debt for your last exercise;
Come the next Sabbath, and I will content you.
[*He whispers in his ear.*

Enter BUCKINGHAM.

Buck. What, talking with a priest, lord chamberlain?
Your friends at Pomfret, they do need the priest;
Your honour hath no shriving work in hand.

Hast. Good faith, and when I met this holy man,
Those men you talk of came into my mind.
What, go you toward the Tower?

Buck. I do, my lord; but long I shall not stay:
I shall return before your lordship thence.

Hast. 'Tis like enough, for I stay dinner there.

Buck. [*Aside*] And supper too, although thou know'st it not.
Come, will you go?

Hast. I 'll wait upon your lordship. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III. *Pomfret Castle.*

Enter SIR RICHARD RATCLIFF, *with halberds, carrying* RIVERS, GREY, *and* VAUGHAN *to death.*

Rat. Come, bring forth the prisoners.

Riv. Sir Richard Ratcliff, let me tell thee this:
To-day shalt thou behold a subject die
For truth, for duty, and for loyalty.

Grey. God keep the prince from all the pack of you!
A knot you are of damned blood-suckers.

Vaug. You live that shall cry woe for this hereafter.

Rat. Dispatch; the limit of your lives is out.

Riv. O Pomfret, Pomfret! O thou bloody prison,
Fatal and ominous to noble peers!
Within the guilty closure of thy walls
Richard the second here was hack'd to death;
And, for more slander to thy dismal seat,
We give thee up our guiltless blood to drink.

Grey. Now Margaret's curse is fall'n upon our heads,
For standing by when Richard stabb'd her son.

Riv. Then cursed she Hastings, then cursed she Buckingham,
Then cursed she Richard. O, remember, God,
To hear her prayers for them, as now for us!
And for my sister and her princely sons,
Be satisfied, dear God, with our true blood,
Which, as thou know'st, unjustly must be spilt.

Rat. Make haste; the hour of death is expiate.

Riv. Come, Grey, come, Vaughan, let us all embrace:
And take our leave, until we meet in heaven. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV. *The Tower of London.*

Enter BUCKINGHAM, DERBY, HASTINGS, *the* BISHOP OF ELY, RATCLIFF, LOVEL, *with others, and take their seats at a table.*

Hast. My lords, at once: the cause why we are met

Is, to determine of the coronation.
In God's name, speak: when is the royal day?

Buck. Are all things fitting for that royal time?

Der. It is, and wants but nomination.

Ely. To-morrow, then, I judge a happy day.

Buck. Who knows the lord protector's mind herein?
Who is most inward with the royal duke?

Ely. Your grace, we think, should soonest know his mind.

Buck. Who, I, my lord! we know each other's faces,
But for our hearts, he knows no more of mine,
Than I of yours;
Nor I no more of his, than you of mine.
Lord Hastings, you and he are near in love.

Hast. I thank his grace, I know he loves me well;
But, for his purpose in the coronation,
I have not sounded him, nor he deliver'd
His gracious pleasure any way therein:
But you, my noble lords, may name the time;
And in the duke's behalf I'll give my voice,
Which, I presume, he'll take in gentle part.

Enter GLOUCESTER.

Ely. Now in good time, here comes the duke himself.

Glou. My noble lords and cousins all, good morrow.
I have been long a sleeper; but, I hope,
My absence doth neglect no great designs,
Which by my presence might have been concluded.

Buck. Had not you come upon your cue, my lord,
William Lord Hastings had pronounced your part,—
I mean, your voice,—for crowning of the king.

Glou. Than my Lord Hastings no man might be bolder,
His lordship knows me well, and loves me well.

Hast. I thank your grace.

Glou. My lord of Ely!

Ely. My lord?

Glou. When I was last in Holborn,
I saw good strawberries in your garden there:
I do beseech you send for some of them.

Ely. Marry, and will, my lord, with all my heart.
[*Exit.*

Glou. Cousin of Buckingham, a word with you.
[*Drawing him aside.*
Catesby hath sounded Hastings in our business,
And finds the testy gentleman so hot,
As he will lose his head ere give consent
His master's son, as worshipful he terms it,
Shall lose the royalty of England's throne.

Buck. Withdraw you hence, my lord, I'll follow you.
[*Exit Gloucester, Buckingham following.*

Der. We have not yet set down this day of triumph.
To-morrow, in mine opinion, is too sudden;
For I myself am not so well provided
As else I would be, were the day prolong'd.

Re-enter BISHOP OF ELY.

Ely. Where is my lord protector? I have sent for these strawberries.

Hast. His grace looks cheerfully and smooth to-day;
There 's some conceit or other likes him well,
When he doth bid good morrow with such a spirit.
I think there 's never a man in Christendom
That can less hide his love or hate than he;
For by his face straight shall you know his heart.

Der. What of his heart perceive you in his face
By any likelihood he show'd to-day?

Hast. Marry, that with no man here he is offended;
For, were he, he had shown it in his looks.

Der. I pray God he be not, I say.

Re-enter GLOUCESTER *and* BUCKINGHAM.

Glou. I pray you all, tell me what they deserve
That do conspire my death with devilish plots

Of damned witchcraft, and that have prevail'd
Upon my body with their hellish charms?

Hast. The tender love I bear your grace, my lord,
Makes me most forward in this noble presence
To doom the offenders, whatsoever they be:
I say, my lord, they have deserved death.

Glou. Then be your eyes the witness of this ill:
See how I am bewitch'd; behold mine arm
Is, like a blasted sapling, wither'd up:
And this is Edward's wife, that monstrous witch,
Consorted with that harlot strumpet Shore,
That by their witchcraft thus have marked me.

Hast. If they have done this thing, my gracious lord,—

Glou. If! thou protector of this damned strumpet,
Tellest thou me of 'ifs'? Thou art a traitor:
Off with his head! Now, by Saint Paul I swear,
I will not dine until I see the same.
Lovel and Ratcliff, look that it be done:
The rest, that love me, rise and follow me.

[*Exeunt all but Hastings, Ratcliff, and Lovel.*

Hast. Woe, woe for England! not a whit for me;
For I, too fond, might have prevented this.
Stanley did dream the boar did raze his helm;
But I disdain'd it, and did scorn to fly:
Three times to-day my foot-cloth horse did stumble,
And startled, when he look'd upon the Tower,
As loath to bear me to the slaughter-house.
O, now I want the priest that spake to me:
I now repent I told the pursuivant,
As 'twere triumphing at mine enemies,
How they at Pomfret bloodily were butcher'd,
And I myself secure in grace and favour.
O Margaret, Margaret, now thy heavy curse
Is lighted on poor Hastings' wretched head!

Rat. Dispatch, my lord; the duke would be at dinner:
Make a short shrift; he longs to see your head.

Hast. O momentary grace of mortal men,

Which we more hunt for than the grace of God!
Who builds his hopes in air of your good looks,
Lives like a drunken sailor on a mast,
Ready, with every nod, to tumble down
Into the fatal bowels of the deep.

Lov. Come, come, dispatch; 'tis bootless to exclaim.

Hast. O bloody Richard! miserable England!
I prophesy the fearfull'st time to thee
That ever wretched age hath look'd upon.
Come, lead me to the block; bear him my head:
They smile at me that shortly shall be dead. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE V. *The Tower-walls.*

Enter GLOUCESTER *and* BUCKINGHAM, *in rotten armour, marvellous ill-favoured.*

Glou. Come, cousin, canst thou quake, and change thy colour.
Murder thy breath in middle of a word,
And then begin again, and stop again,
As if thou wert distraught and mad with terror?

Buck. Tut, I can counterfeit the deep tragedian;
Speak and look back, and pry on every side,
Tremble and start at wagging of a straw,
Intending deep suspicion: ghastly looks
Are at my service, like enforced smiles;
And both are ready in their offices,
At any time, to grace my stratagems.
But what, is Catesby gone?

Glou. He is; and, see, he brings the mayor along.

Enter the Mayor *and* CATESBY.

Buck. Lord mayor,—

Glou. Look to the drawbridge there!

Buck. Hark! a drum.

Glou. Catesby, o'erlook the walls.

Buck. Lord mayor, the reason we have sent—

Glou. Look back, defend thee, here are enemies.

Buck. God and our innocency defend and guard us!

Glou. Be patient, they are friends, Ratcliff and Lovel.

Enter LOVEL *and* RATCLIFF, *with* HASTINGS' *head.*

Lov. Here is the head of that ignoble traitor,
The dangerous and unsuspected Hastings.

Glou. So dear I loved the man, that I must weep.
I took him for the plainest harmless creature
That breathed upon this earth a Christian;
Made him my book, wherein my soul recorded
The history of all her secret thoughts:
So smooth he daub'd his vice with show of virtue,
That, his apparent open guilt omitted,
I mean, his conversation with Shore's wife,
He lived from all attainder of suspect.

Buck. Well, well, he was the covert'st shelter'd traitor
That ever lived.
Would you imagine, or almost believe,
Were't not that, by great preservation,
We live to tell it you, the subtle traitor
This day had plotted, in the council-house
To murder me and my good Lord of Gloucester?

May. What, had he so?

Glou. What, think you we are Turks or infidels?
Or that we would, against the form of law,
Proceed thus rashly to the villain's death,
But that the extreme peril of the case,
The peace of England and our persons' safety,
Enforced us to this execution?

May. Now, fair befall you! he deserved his death;
And you, my good lords both, have well proceeded,
To warn false traitors from the like attempts.
I never looked for better at his hands,
After he once fell in with Mistress Shore.

Glou. Yet had not we determined he should die,

Until your lordship came to see his death;
Which now the loving haste of these our friends,
Somewhat against our meaning, have prevented:
Because, my lord, we would have had you heard
The traitor speak, and timorously confess
The manner and the purpose of his treason;
That you might well have signified the same
Unto the citizens, who haply may
Misconstrue us in him and wail his death.

May. But, my good lord, your grace's word shall serve,
As well as I had seen and heard him speak:
And doubt you not, right noble princes both,
But I'll acquaint our duteous citizens
With all your just proceedings in this cause.

Glou. And to that end we wish'd your lordship here,
To avoid the carping censures of the world.

Buck. But since you come too late of our intents,
Yet witness what you hear we did intend:
And so, my good lord mayor, we bid farewell.

[*Exit Mayor.*

Glou. Go, after, after, cousin Buckingham.
The mayor towards Guildhall hies him in all post:
There, at your meet'st advantage of the time,
Infer the bastardy of Edward's children:
Tell them how Edward put to death a citizen,
Only for saying he would make his son
Heir to the crown; meaning indeed his house,
Which, by the sign thereof, was termed so.
Moreover, urge his hateful luxury,
And bestial appetite in change of lust;
Which stretched to their servants, daughters, wives,
Even where his lustful eye or savage heart,
Without control, listed to make his prey.
Nay, for a need, thus far come near my person:
Tell them, when that my mother went with child
Of that unsatiate Edward, noble York
My princely father then had wars in France;

And, by just computation of the time,
Found that the issue was not his begot;
Which well appeared in his lineaments,
Being nothing like the noble duke my father:
But touch this sparingly, as 'twere far off;
Because you know, my lord, my mother lives.

Buck. Fear not, my lord, I'll play the orator
As if the golden fee for which I plead
Were for myself: and so, my lord, adieu.

Glou. If you thrive well, bring them to Baynard's Castle;
Where you shall find me well accompanied
With reverend fathers and well-learned bishops.

Buck. I go; and towards three or four o'clock
Look for the news that the Guildhall affords. [*Exit.*

Glou. Go, Lovel, with all speed to Doctor Shaw;
[*To Catesby*] Go thou to Friar Penker: bid them both
Meet me within this hour at Baynard's Castle.
[*Exeunt all but Gloucester.*
Now will I in, to take some privy order,
To draw the brats of Clarence out of sight;
And to give notice, that no manner of person
At any time have recourse unto the princes. [*Exit.*

SCENE VI. *The same. A street.*

Enter a Scrivener, *with a paper in his hand.*

Scriv. This is the indictment of the good Lord Hastings;
Which in a set hand fairly is engross'd,
That it may be this day read o'er in Paul's.
And mark how well the sequel hangs together:
Eleven hours I spent to write it over,
For yesternight by Catesby was it brought me;
The precedent was full as long a-doing:
And yet within these five hours lived Lord Hastings,
Untainted, unexamined, free, at liberty.
Here's a good world the while! Why who's so gross,

That seeth not this palpable device?
Yet who's so blind, but says he sees it not?
Bad is the world; and all will come to nought,
When such bad dealing must be seen in thought. [*Exit.*

SCENE VII. *Baynard's Castle.*

Enter GLOUCESTER *and* BUCKINGHAM, *at several doors.*

Glou. How now, my lord, what say the citizens?

Buck. Now, by the holy mother of our Lord,
The citizens are mum and speak not a word.

Glou. Touch'd you the bastardy of Edward's children?

Buck. I did; with his contract with Lady Lucy,
And his contract by deputy in France;
The insatiate greediness of his desires,
And his enforcement of the city wives;
His tyranny for trifles; his own bastardy,
As being got, your father then in France,
And his resemblance, being not like the duke:
Withal I did infer your lineaments,
Being the right idea of your father,
Both in your form and nobleness of mind;
Laid open all your victories in Scotland,
Your discipline in war, wisdom in peace,
Your bounty, virtue, fair humility;
Indeed, left nothing fitting for the purpose
Untouch'd, or slightly handled, in discourse:
And when mine oratory grew to an end,
I bid them that did love their country's good
Cry 'God save Richard, England's royal king!'

Glou. Ah! and did they so?

Buck. No, so God help me, they spake not a word;
But, like dumb statuas or breathing stones,
Gazed each on other, and look'd deadly pale.
Which when I saw, I reprehended them;
And ask'd the mayor what meant this wilful silence:

His answer was, the people were not wont
To be spoke to but by the recorder.
Then he was urged to tell my tale again,
'Thus saith the duke, thus hath the duke inferr'd;'
But nothing spake in warrant from himself.
When he had done, some followers of mine own,
At the lower end of the hall, hurl'd up their caps,
And some ten voices cried 'God save King Richard!'
And thus I took the vantage of those few,
'Thanks, gentle citizens and friends,' quoth I;
'This general applause and loving shout
Argues your wisdoms and your love to Richard:'
And even here brake off, and came away.

Glou. What tongueless blocks were they! would they not speak?

Buck. No, by my troth, my lord.

Glou. Will not the mayor then and his brethren come?

Buck. The mayor is here at hand: intend some fear;
Be not you spoke with, but by mighty suit:
And look you get a prayer-book in your hand,
And stand betwixt two churchmen, good my lord;
For on that ground I'll build a holy descant:
And be not easily won to our request:
Play the maid's part, still answer nay, and take it.

Glou. I go; and if you plead as well for them
As I can say nay to thee for myself,
No doubt we'll bring it to a happy issue.

Buck. Go, go, up to the leads; the lord mayor knocks.
[*Exit Gloucester.*

Enter the Mayor *and* Citizens.

Welcome, my lord: I dance attendance here;
I think the duke will not be spoke withal.

Enter CATESBY.

Here comes his servant: how now, Catesby,
What says he?

Cate. My lord, he doth entreat your grace
To visit him to-morrow or next day:
He is within, with two right reverend fathers,
Divinely bent to meditation;
And in no worldly suit would he be moved,
To draw him from his holy exercise.

Buck. Return, good Catesby, to thy lord again;
Tell him, myself, the mayor and citizens,
In deep designs and matters of great moment,
No less importing than our general good,
Are come to have some conference with his grace.

Cate. I'll tell him what you say, my lord. [*Exit.*

Buck. Ah, ha, my lord, this prince is not an Edward!
He is not lolling on a lewd day-bed,
But on his knees at meditation;
Not dallying with a brace of courtezans,
But meditating with two deep divines;
Not sleeping, to engross his idle body,
But praying, to enrich his watchful soul:
Happy were England, would this gracious prince
Take on himself the sovereignty thereof:
But, sure, I fear, we shall ne'er win him to it.

May. Marry, God forbid his grace should say us nay!

Buck. I fear he will.

Re-enter CATESBY.

How now, Catesby, what says your lord?

Cate. My lord,
He wonders to what end you have assembled
Such troops of citizens to speak with him,
His grace not being warn'd thereof before:
My lord, he fears you mean no good to him.

Buck. Sorry I am my noble cousin should
Suspect me, that I mean no good to him:
By heaven, I come in perfect love to him;
And so once more return and tell his grace.

[*Exit Catesby.*

When holy and devout religious men
Are at their beads, 'tis hard to draw them thence,
So sweet is zealous contemplation.

Enter GLOUCESTER *aloft, between two* Bishops. CATESBY *returns.*

May. See, where he stands between two clergymen!

Buck. Two props of virtue for a Christian prince,
To stay him from the fall of vanity:
And, see, a book of prayer in his hand,
True ornaments to know a holy man.
Famous Plantagenet, most gracious prince,
Lend favourable ears to our request;
And pardon us the interruption
Of thy devotion and right Christian zeal.

Glou. My lord, there needs no such apology:
I rather do beseech you pardon me,
Who, earnest in the service of my God,
Neglect the visitation of my friends.
But, leaving this, what is your grace's pleasure?

Buck. Even that, I hope, which pleaseth God above,
And all good men of this ungovern'd isle.

Glou. I do suspect I have done some offence
That seems disgracious in the city's eyes,
And that you come to reprehend my ignorance.

Buck. You have, my lord: would it might please your grace,
At our entreaties, to amend that fault!

Glou. Else wherefore breathe I in a Christian land?

Buck. Then know, it is your fault that you resign
The supreme seat, the throne majestical,
The scepter'd office of your ancestors,
Your state of fortune and your due of birth,
The lineal glory of your royal house,
To the corruption of a blemish'd stock:
Whilst, in the mildness of your sleepy thoughts,
Which here we waken to our country's good,

This noble isle doth want her proper limbs;
Her face defaced with scars of infamy,
Her royal stock graft with ignoble plants,
And almost shoulder'd in the swallowing gulf
Of blind forgetfulness and dark oblivion.
Which to recure, we heartily solicit
Your gracious self to take on you the charge
And kingly government of this your land,
Not as protector, steward, substitute,
Or lowly factor for another's gain;
But as successively, from blood to blood,
Your right of birth, your empery, your own.
For this, consorted with the citizens,
Your very worshipful and loving friends,
And by their vehement instigation,
In this just suit come I to move your grace.

Glou. I know not whether to depart in silence,
Or bitterly to speak in your reproof,
Best fitteth my degree or your condition:
If not to answer, you might haply think
Tongue-tied ambition, not replying, yielded
To bear the golden yoke of sovereignty,
Which fondly you would here impose on me;
If to reprove you for this suit of yours,
So season'd with your faithful love to me,
Then, on the other side, I check'd my friends.
Therefore, to speak, and to avoid the first,
And then, in speaking, not to incur the last,
Definitively thus I answer you.
Your love deserves my thanks; but my desert
Unmeritable shuns your high request.
First, if all obstacles were cut away,
And that my path were even to the crown,
As my ripe revenue and due by birth;
Yet so much is my poverty of spirit,
So mighty and so many my defects,
As I had rather hide me from my greatness,
Being a bark to brook no mighty sea,

Than in my greatness covet to be hid,
And in the vapour of my glory smother'd.
But, God be thanked, there's no need of me,
And much I need to help you, if need were;
The royal tree hath left us royal fruit,
Which, mellow'd by the stealing hours of time,
Will well become the seat of majesty,
And make, no doubt, us happy by his reign.
On him I lay what you would lay on me,
The right and fortune of his happy stars;
Which God defend that I should wring from him!

Buck. My lord, this argues conscience in your grace;
But the respects thereof are nice and trivial,
All circumstances well considered.
You say that Edward is your brother's son:
So say we too, but not by Edward's wife;
For first he was contract to Lady Lucy—
Your mother lives a witness to that vow—
And afterward by substitute betroth'd
To Bona, sister to the King of France.
These both put by, a poor petitioner,
A care-crazed mother of a many children,
A beauty-waning and distressed widow,
Even in the afternoon of her best days,
Made prize and purchase of his lustful eye,
Seduced the pitch and height of all his thoughts
To base declension and loathed bigamy:
By her, in his unlawful bed, he got
This Edward, whom our manners term the prince.
More bitterly could I expostulate,
Save that, for reverence to some alive,
I give a sparing limit to my tongue.
Then, good my lord, take to your royal self
This proffer'd benefit of dignity;
If not to bless us and the land withal,
Yet to draw forth your noble ancestry
From the corruption of abusing times,
Unto a lineal true-derived course.

May. Do, good my lord, your citizens entreat you.

Buck. Refuse not, mighty lord, this proffer'd love.

Cate. O, make them joyful, grant their lawful suit!

Glou. Alas, why would you heap these cares on me?
I am unfit for state and majesty:
I do beseech you, take it not amiss;
I cannot nor I will not yield to you.

Buck. If you refuse it,—as, in love and zeal,
Loath to depose the child, your brother's son;
As well we know your tenderness of heart
And gentle, kind, effeminate remorse,
Which we have noted in you to your kin,
And egally indeed to all estates,—
Yet whether you accept our suit or no,
Your brother's son shall never reign our king;
But we will plant some other in the throne,
To the disgrace and downfall of your house:
And in this resolution here we leave you.
Come, citizens: 'zounds! I'll entreat no more.

Glou. O, do not swear, my lord of Buckingham.
[*Exit Buckingham with the Citizens.*

Cate. Call them again, my lord, and accept their suit.

Another. Do, good my lord, lest all the land do rue it.

Glou. Would you enforce me to a world of care?
Well, call them again. I am not made of stones,
But penetrable to your kind entreats,
Albeit against my conscience and my soul.

Re-enter BUCKINGHAM *and the rest.*

Cousin of Buckingham, and you sage, grave men,
Since you will buckle fortune on my back,
To bear her burthen, whether I will or no,
I must have patience to endure the load;
But if black scandal or foul-faced reproach
Attend the sequel of your imposition,
Your mere enforcement shall acquittance me
From all the impure blots and stains thereof;

For God he knows, and you may partly see,
How far I am from the desire thereof.

May. God bless your grace! we see it, and will say it.

Glou. In saying so, you shall but say the truth.

Buck. Then I salute you with this kingly title:
Long live Richard, England's royal king! 240

May. and Cit. Amen.

Buck. To-morrow will it please you to be crown'd?

Glou. Even when you please, since you will have it so.

Buck. To-morrow, then, we will attend your grace:
And so most joyfully we take our leave.

Glou. Come, let us to our holy task again.
Farewell, good cousin; farewell, gentle friends. [*Exeunt.*

ACT IV.

SCENE I. *Before the Tower.*

Enter, on one side, QUEEN ELIZABETH, DUCHESS OF YORK, *and* MARQUESS OF DORSET; *on the other,* ANNE, DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER, *leading* LADY MARGARET PLANTAGENET, CLARENCE'S *young Daughter.*

Duch. Who meets us here? my niece Plantagenet
Led in the hand of her kind aunt of Gloucester?
Now, for my life, she's wandering to the Tower,
On pure heart's love to greet the tender princes.
Daughter, well met.

Anne. God give your graces both
A happy and a joyful time of day!

Q. Eliz. As much to you, good sister! Whither away?

Anne. No farther than the Tower; and, as I guess,
Upon the like devotion as yourselves,
To gratulate the gentle princes there. 10

Q. Eliz. Kind sister, thanks: we'll enter all together.

Enter BRAKENBURY.

And, in good time, here the lieutenant comes.
Master lieutenant, pray you, by your leave,
How doth the prince, and my young son of York?

Brak. Right well, dear madam. By your patience,
I may not suffer you to visit them;
The king hath straitly charged the contrary.

Q. Eliz. The king! why, who's that?

Brak. I cry you mercy: I mean the lord protector.

Q. Eliz. The Lord protect him from that kingly title!
Hath he set bounds betwixt their love and me?
I am their mother; who should keep me from them?

Duch. I am their father's mother; I will see them.

Anne. Their aunt I am in law, in love their mother;
Then bring me to their sights; I'll bear thy blame,
And take thy office from thee, on my peril.

Brak. No, madam, no; I may not leave it so:
I am bound by oath, and therefore pardon me. [*Exit.*

Enter LORD STANLEY.

Stan. Let me but see you, ladies, one hour hence,
And I'll salute your grace of York as mother,
And reverend looker on, of two fair queens.
[*To Anne*] Come, madam, you must straight to Westminster,
There to be crowned Richard's royal queen.

Q. Eliz. O, cut my lace in sunder, that my pent heart
May have some scope to beat, or else I swoon
With this dead-killing news!

Anne. Despiteful tidings! O unpleasing news!

Dor. Be of good cheer: mother, how fares your grace?

Q. Eliz. O Dorset, speak not to me, get thee hence!
Death and destruction dog thee at the heels;
Thy mother's name is ominous to children.
If thou wilt outstrip death, go cross the seas,

And live with Richmond, from the reach of hell:
Go, hie thee, hie thee from this slaughter-house,
Lest thou increase the number of the dead;
And make me die the thrall of Margaret's curse,
Nor mother, wife, nor England's counted queen.

Stan. Full of wise care is this your counsel, madam.
Take all the swift advantage of the hours;
You shall have letters from me to my son
To meet you on the way, and welcome you.
Be not ta'en tardy by unwise delay.

Duch. O ill-dispersing wind of misery!
O my accursed womb, the bed of death!
A cockatrice hast thou hatch'd to the world,
Whose unavoided eye is murderous.

Stan. Come, madam, come; I in all haste was sent.

Anne. And I in all unwillingness will go.
I would to God that the inclusive verge
Of golden metal that must round my brow
Were red-hot steel, to sear me to the brain!
Anointed let me be with deadly venom,
And die, ere men can say, God save the queen!

Q. Eliz. Go, go, poor soul, I envy not thy glory;
To feed my humour, wish thyself no harm.

Anne. No! why? When he that is my husband now
Came to me, as I follow'd Henry's corse,
When scarce the blood was well wash'd from his hands
Which issued from my other angel husband
And that dead saint which then I weeping follow'd;
O, when, I say, I look'd on Richard's face,
This was my wish: 'Be thou,' quoth I, 'accursed,
For making me, so young, so old a widow!
And, when thou wed'st, let sorrow haunt thy bed;
And be thy wife—if any be so mad—
As miserable by the life of thee
As thou hast made me by my dear lord's death!'
Lo, ere I can repeat this curse again,
Even in so short a space, my woman's heart

Grossly grew captive to his honey words
And proved the subject of my own soul's curse,
Which ever since hath kept my eyes from rest;
For never yet one hour in his bed
Have I enjoy'd the golden dew of sleep,
But have been waked by his timorous dreams.
Besides, he hates me for my father Warwick;
And will, no doubt, shortly be rid of me.

Q. Eliz. Poor heart, adieu! I pity thy complaining.

Anne. No more than from my soul I mourn for yours.

Q. Eliz. Farewell, thou woful welcomer of glory!

Anne. Adieu, poor soul, that takest thy leave of it!

Duch. [*To Dorset*] Go thou to Richmond, and good fortune guide thee!
[*To Anne*] Go thou to Richard, and good angels guard thee!
[*To Queen Eliz.*] Go thou to sanctuary, and good thoughts possess thee!
I to my grave, where peace and rest lie with me!
Eighty odd years of sorrow have I seen,
And each hour's joy wreck'd with a week of teen.

Q. Eliz. Stay, yet look back with me unto the Tower.
Pity, you ancient stones, those tender babes
Whom envy hath immured within your walls!
Rough cradle for such little pretty ones!
Rude ragged nurse, old sullen playfellow
For tender princes, use my babies well!
So foolish sorrow bids your stones farewell. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II. *London. The palace.*

Sennet. Enter RICHARD, *in pomp, crowned;* BUCKINGHAM, CATESBY, *a* Page, *and others.*

K. Rich. Stand all apart. Cousin of Buckingham!

Buck. My gracious sovereign?

K. Rich. Give me thy hand. [*Here he ascendeth his throne.*] Thus high, by thy advice
And thy assistance, is King Richard seated:
But shall we wear these honours for a day?
Or shall they last, and we rejoice in them?

Buck. Still live they and for ever may they last!

K. Rich. O Buckingham, now do I play the touch,
To try if thou be current gold indeed:
Young Edward lives: think now what I would say.

Buck. Say on, my loving lord.

K. Rich. Why, Buckingham, I say, I would be king.

Buck. Why, so you are, my thrice renowned liege.

K. Rich. Ha! am I king? 'tis so: but Edward lives.

Buck. True, noble prince.

K. Rich. O bitter consequence,
That Edward still should live true noble prince!
Cousin, thou wert not wont to be so dull:
Shall I be plain? I wish the bastards dead;
And I would have it suddenly perform'd.
What sayest thou? speak suddenly; be brief.

Buck. Your grace may do your pleasure.

K. Rich. Tut, tut, thou art all ice, thy kindness freezeth:
Say, have I thy consent that they shall die?

Buck. Give me some breath, some little pause, my lord,
Before I positively speak herein:
I will resolve your grace immediately. [*Exit.*

Cate. [*Aside to a stander by*] The king is angry: see, he bites the lip.

K. Rich. I will converse with iron-witted fools
And unrespective boys: none are for me
That look into me with considerate eyes:
High-reaching Buckingham grows circumspect.
Boy!

Page. My lord?

K. Rich. Know'st thou not any whom corrupting gold

Would tempt unto a close exploit of death?

Page. My lord, I know a discontented gentleman,
Whose humble means match not his haughty mind:
Gold were as good as twenty orators,
And will, no doubt, tempt him to any thing.

K. Rich. What is his name?

Page. His name, my lord, is Tyrrel.

K. Rich. I partly know the man: go, call him hither.
[*Exit Page.*

The deep-revolving witty Buckingham
No more shall be the neighbour to my counsel:
Hath he so long held out with me untired,
And stops he now for breath?

Enter STANLEY.

How now! what news with you?

Stan. My lord, I hear the Marquis Dorset's fled
To Richmond, in those parts beyond the seas
Where he abides. [*Stands apart.*

K. Rich. Catesby!

Cate. My lord?

K. Rich. Rumour it abroad
That Anne, my wife, is sick and like to die:
I will take order for her keeping close.
Inquire me out some mean-born gentleman,
Whom I will marry straight to Clarence' daughter:
The boy is foolish, and I fear not him.
Look, how thou dream'st! I say again, give out
That Anne my wife is sick and like to die:
About it; for it stands me much upon,
To stop all hopes whose growth may damage me.
[*Exit Catesby.*

I must be married to my brother's daughter,
Or else my kingdom stands on brittle glass.
Murder her brothers, and then marry her!
Uncertain way of gain! But I am in
So far in blood that sin will pluck on sin:

Tear-falling pity dwells not in this eye.

Re-enter Page, *with* TYRREL.

Is thy name Tyrrel?

Tyr. James Tyrrel, and your most obedient subject.

K. Rich. Art thou, indeed?

Tyr. Prove me, my gracious sovereign.

K. Rich. Darest thou resolve to kill a friend of mine?

Tyr. Ay, my lord;

But I had rather kill two enemies.

K. Rich. Why, there thou hast it: two deep enemies,
Foes to my rest and my sweet sleep's disturbers
Are they that I would have thee deal upon:
Tyrrel, I mean those bastards in the Tower.

Tyr. Let me have open means to come to them,
And soon I 'll rid you from the fear of them.

K. Rich. Thou sing'st sweet music. Hark, come hither, Tyrrel:
Go, by this token: rise, and lend thine ear: [*Whispers.*
There is no more but so: say it is done,
And I will love thee, and prefer thee too.

Tyr. 'Tis done, my gracious lord.

K. Rich. Shall we hear from thee, Tyrrel, ere we sleep?

Tyr. Ye shall, my lord. [*Exit.*

Re-enter BUCKINGHAM.

Buck. My lord, I have consider'd in my mind
The late demand that you did sound me in.

K. Rich. Well, let that pass. Dorset is fled to Richmond.

Buck. I hear that news, my lord.

K. Rich. Stanley, he is your wife's son: well, look to it.

Buck. My lord, I claim your gift, my due by promise,
For which your honour and your faith is pawn'd;
The earldom of Hereford and the moveables
The which you promised I should possess.

K. Rich. Stanley, look to your wife: if she convey
Letters to Richmond, you shall answer it.

Buck. What says your highness to my just demand?

K. Rich. As I remember, Henry the Sixth
Did prophesy that Richmond should be king,
When Richmond was a little peevish boy.
A king, perhaps, perhaps,—

Buck. My lord!

K. Rich. How chance the prophet could not at that time
Have told me, I being by, that I should kill him?

Buck. My lord, your promise for the earldom,—

K. Rich. Richmond! When last I was at Exeter,
The mayor in courtesy show'd me the castle,
And call'd it Rougemont: at which name I started,
Because a bard of Ireland told me once,
I should not live long after I saw Richmond.

Buck. My lord!

K. Rich. Ay, what's o'clock?

Buck. I am thus bold to put your grace in mind
Of what you promised me.

K. Rich. Well, but what's o'clock?

Buck. Upon the stroke of ten.

K. Rich. Well, let it strike.

Buck. Why let it strike?

K. Rich. Because that, like a Jack, thou keep'st the stroke
Betwixt thy begging and my meditation.
I am not in the giving vein to-day.

Buck. Why, then resolve me whether you will or no.

K. Rich. Tut, tut,
Thou troublest me; I am not in the vein.

[*Exeunt all but Buckingham.*

Buck. Is it even so? rewards he my true service
With such deep contempt? made I him king for this?
O, let me think on Hastings, and be gone
To Brecknock, while my fearful head is on! [*Exit.*

SCENE III. *The same.*

Enter TYRREL.

Tyr. The tyrannous and bloody deed is done,
The most arch act of piteous massacre
That ever yet this land was guilty of.
Dighton and Forrest, whom I did suborn
To do this ruthless piece of butchery,
Although they were flesh'd villains, bloody dogs,
Melting with tenderness and kind compassion
Wept like two children in their deaths' sad stories.
'Lo, thus,' quoth Dighton, 'lay those tender babes':
'Thus, thus,' quoth Forrest, 'girdling one another
Within their innocent alabaster arms:
Their lips were four red roses on a stalk,
Which in their summer beauty kiss'd each other.
A book of prayers on their pillow lay;
Which once,' quoth Forrest, 'almost changed my mind;
But O! the devil'—there the villain stopp'd;
Whilst Dighton thus told on: 'We smothered
The most replenished sweet work of nature,
That from the prime creation e'er she framed.'
Thus both are gone with conscience and remorse;
They could not speak; and so I left them both,
To bring this tidings to the bloody king.
And here he comes.

Enter KING RICHARD.

All hail, my sovereign liege!

K. Rich. Kind Tyrrel, am I happy in thy news?

Tyr. If to have done the thing you gave in charge
Beget your happiness, be happy then,
For it is done, my lord.

K. Rich. But didst thou see them dead?

Tyr. I did, my lord.

K. Rich. And buried, gentle Tyrrel?

Tyr. The chaplain of the Tower hath buried them;

But how or in what place I do not know.

K. Rich. Come to me, Tyrrel, soon at after supper,
And thou shalt tell the process of their death.
Meantime, but think how I may do thee good,
And be inheritor of thy desire.
Farewell till soon. [*Exit Tyrrel.*
The son of Clarence have I pent up close;
His daughter meanly have I match'd in marriage;
The sons of Edward sleep in Abraham's bosom,
And Anne my wife hath bid the world good night.
Now, for I know the Breton Richmond aims
At young Elizabeth, my brother's daughter,
And, by that knot, looks proudly o'er the crown,
To her I go, a jolly thriving wooer.

Enter CATESBY.

Cate. My lord!

K. Rich. Good news or bad, that thou comest in so bluntly?

Cate. Bad news, my lord: Ely is fled to Richmond;
And Buckingham, back'd with the hardy Welshmen,
Is in the field, and still his power increaseth.

K. Rich. Ely with Richmond troubles me more near
Than Buckingham and his rash-levied army.
Come, I have heard that fearful commenting
Is leaden servitor to dull delay;
Delay leads impotent and snail-paced beggary:
Then fiery expedition be my wing,
Jove's Mercury, and herald for a king!
Come, muster men: my counsel is my shield;
We must be brief when traitors brave the field. [*Exeunt*

SCENE IV. *Before the palace.*

Enter QUEEN MARGARET.

Q. Mar. So, now prosperity begins to mellow
And drop into the rotten mouth of death.

Here in these confines slily have I lurk'd,
To watch the waning of mine adversaries.
A dire induction am I witness to,
And will to France, hoping the consequence
Will prove as bitter, black, and tragical.
Withdraw thee, wretched Margaret: who comes here?

Enter QUEEN ELIZABETH *and the* DUCHESS OF YORK.

Q. Eliz. Ah, my young princes! ah, my tender babes!
My unblown flowers, new-appearing sweets!
If yet your gentle souls fly in the air
And be not fix'd in doom perpetual,
Hover about me with your airy wings,
And hear your mother's lamentation!

Q. Mar. Hover about her; say, that right for right
Hath dimm'd your infant morn to aged night.

Duch. So many miseries have crazed my voice,
That my woe-wearied tongue is mute and dumb,
Edward Plantagenet, why art thou dead?

Q. Mar. Plantagenet doth quit Plantagenet.
Edward for Edward pays a dying debt.

Q. Eliz. Wilt thou, O God, fly from such gentle lambs,
And throw them in the entrails of the wolf?
When didst thou sleep when such a deed was done?

Q. Mar. When holy Harry died, and my sweet son.

Duch. Blind sight, dead life, poor mortal living ghost,
Woe's scene, world's shame, grave's due by life usurp'd,
Brief abstract and record of tedious days,
Rest thy unrest on England's lawful earth, [*Sitting down.*
Unlawfully made drunk with innocents' blood!

Q. Eliz. O, that thou wouldst as well afford a grave
As thou canst yield a melancholy seat!
Then would I hide my bones, not rest them here.
O, who hath any cause to mourn but I?
[*Sitting down by her.*

Q. Mar. If ancient sorrow be most reverend,
Give mine the benefit of seniory,

And let my woes frown on the upper hand.
If sorrow can admit society, [*Sitting down with them.*
Tell o'er your woes again by viewing mine:
I had an Edward, till a Richard kill'd him;
I had a Harry, till a Richard kill'd him:
Thou hadst an Edward, till a Richard kill'd him;
Thou hadst a Richard, till a Richard kill'd him.

Duch. I had a Richard too, and thou didst kill him;
I had a Rutland too, thou holp'st to kill him.

Q. Mar. Thou hadst a Clarence too, and Richard kill'd him.
From forth the kennel of thy womb hath crept
A hell-hound that doth hunt us all to death:
That dog, that had his teeth before his eyes,
To worry lambs and lap their gentle blood,
That foul defacer of God's handiwork,
That excellent grand tyrant of the earth,
That reigns in galled eyes of weeping souls,
Thy womb let loose, to chase us to our graves.
O upright, just, and true-disposing God,
How do I thank thee, that this carnal cur
Preys on the issue of his mother's body,
And makes her pew-fellow with others' moan!

Duch. O Harry's wife, triumph not in my woes!
God witness with me, I have wept for thine.

Q. Mar. Bear with me; I am hungry for revenge,
And now I cloy me with beholding it.
Thy Edward he is dead, that stabb'd my Edward;
Thy other Edward dead, to quit my Edward;
Young York he is but boot, because both they
Match not the high perfection of my loss:
Thy Clarence he is dead that kill'd my Edward;
And the beholders of this tragic play,
The adulterate Hastings, Rivers, Vaughan, Grey,
Untimely smother'd in their dusky graves.
Richard yet lives, hell's black intelligencer,
Only reserved their factor, to buy souls
And send them thither: but at hand, at hand,

Ensues his piteous and unpitied end:
Earth gapes, hell burns, fiends roar, saints pray,
To have him suddenly convey'd away.
Cancel his bond of life, dear God, I pray,
That I may live to say, The dog is dead!

Q. Eliz. O, thou didst prophesy the time would come
That I should wish for thee to help me curse
That bottled spider, that foul bunch-back'd toad!

Q. Mar. I call'd thee then vain flourish of my fortune;
I call'd thee then poor shadow, painted queen;
The presentation of but what I was;
The flattering index of a direful pageant;
One heaved a-high, to be hurl'd down below;
A mother only mock'd with two sweet babes;
A dream of what thou wert, a breath, a bubble,
A sign of dignity, a garish flag,
To be the aim of every dangerous shot;
A queen in jest, only to fill the scene.
Where is thy husband now? where be thy brothers?
Where are thy children? wherein dost thou joy?
Who sues to thee and cries 'God save the queen'?
Where be the bending peers that flatter'd thee?
Where be the thronging troops that follow'd thee?
Decline all this, and see what now thou art:
For happy wife, a most distressed widow;
For joyful mother, one that wails the name;
For queen, a very caitiff crown'd with care;
For one being sued to, one that humbly sues;
For one that scorn'd at me, now scorn'd of me;
For one being fear'd of all, now fearing one;
For one commanding all, obey'd of none.
Thus hath the course of justice wheel'd about,
And left thee but a very prey to time;
Having no more but thought of what thou wert,
To torture thee the more, being what thou art.
Thou didst usurp my place, and dost thou not
Usurp the just proportion of my sorrow?
Now thy proud neck bears half my burthen'd yoke;

From which even here I slip my weary neck,
And leave the burthen of it all on thee.
Farewell, York's wife, and queen of sad mischance:
These English woes will make me smile in France.

Q. Eliz. O thou well skill'd in curses, stay awhile,
And teach me how to curse mine enemies!

Q. Mar. Forbear to sleep the nights, and fast the days;
Compare dead happiness with living woe;
Think that thy babes were fairer than they were,
And he that slew them fouler than he is;
Bettering thy loss makes the bad causer worse:
Revolving this will teach thee how to curse.

Q. Eliz. My words are dull; O, quicken them with thine!

Q. Mar. Thy woes will make them sharp, and pierce like mine. [*Exit.*

Duch. Why should calamity be full of words?

Q. Eliz. Windy attorneys to their client woes,
Airy succeeders of intestate joys,
Poor breathing orators of miseries!
Let them have scope: though what they do impart
Help not at all, yet do they ease the heart.

Duch. If so, then be not tongue-tied: go with me,
And in the breath of bitter words let's smother
My damned son, which thy two sweet sons smother'd.
I hear his drum: be copious in exclaims.

Enter KING RICHARD, *marching, with drums and trumpets.*

K. Rich. Who intercepts my expedition?

Duch. O, she that might have intercepted thee,
By strangling thee in her accursed womb,
From all the slaughters, wretch, that thou hast done!

Q. Eliz. Hidest thou that forehead with a golden crown,
Where should be graven, if that right were right,
The slaughter of the prince that owed that crown,
And the dire death of my two sons and brothers?
Tell me, thou villain slave, where are my children?

Duch. Thou toad, thou toad, where is thy brother Clarence?
And little Ned Plantagenet, his son?

Q. Eliz. Where is kind Hastings, Rivers, Vaughan, Grey?

K. Rich. A flourish, trumpets! strike alarum, drums!
Let not the heavens hear these tell-tale women
Rail on the Lord's anointed: strike, I say!
[*Flourish. Alarums.*
Either be patient, and entreat me fair,
Or with the clamorous report of war
Thus will I drown your exclamations.

Duch. Art thou my son?

K. Rich. Ay, I thank God, my father, and yourself.

Duch. Then patiently hear my impatience.

K. Rich. Madam, I have a touch of your condition,
Which cannot brook the accent of reproof.

Duch. O, let me speak!

K. Rich. Do then; but I 'll not hear.

Duch. I will be mild and gentle in my speech.

K. Rich. And brief, good mother; for I am in haste.

Duch. Art thou so hasty? I have stay'd for thee,
God knows, in anguish, pain and agony.

K. Rich. And came I not at last to comfort you?

Duch. No, by the holy rood, thou know'st it well,
Thou camest on earth to make the earth my hell.
A grievous burthen was thy birth to me;
Tetchy and wayward was thy infancy;
Thy school-days frightful, desperate, wild, and furious,
Thy prime of manhood daring, bold, and venturous,
Thy age confirm'd, proud, subtle, bloody, treacherous;
More mild, but yet more harmful; kind in hatred:
What comfortable hour canst thou name,
That ever graced me in thy company?

K. Rich. Faith, none, but Humphrey Hour, that call'd your grace
To breakfast once forth of my company.
If I be so disgracious in your sight,

Let me march on, and not offend your grace.
Strike up the drum.

Duch. I prithee, hear me speak.

K. Rich. You speak too bitterly.

Duch. Hear me a word;
For I shall never speak to thee again.

K. Rich. So.

Duch. Either thou wilt die, by God's just ordinance,
Ere from this war thou turn a conqueror,
Or I with grief and extreme age shall perish
And never look upon thy face again.
Therefore take with thee my most heavy curse;
Which, in the day of battle, tire thee more
Than all the complete armour that thou wear'st!
My prayers on the adverse party fight;
And there the little souls of Edward's children
Whisper the spirits of thine enemies
And promise them success and victory.
Bloody thou art, bloody will be thy end;
Shame serves thy life and doth thy death attend. [*Exit.*

Q. Eliz. Though far more cause, yet much less spirit to curse
Abides in me; I say amen to all.

K. Rich. Stay, madam; I must speak a word with you.

Q. Eliz. I have no moe sons of the royal blood
For thee to murder: for my daughters, Richard,
They shall be praying nuns, not weeping queens;
And therefore level not to hit their lives.

K. Rich. You have a daughter call'd Elizabeth,
Virtuous and fair, royal and gracious.

Q. Eliz. And must she die for this? O, let her live,
And I'll corrupt her manners, stain her beauty;
Slander myself as false to Edward's bed;
Throw over her the veil of infamy;
So she may live unscarr'd of bleeding slaughter,
I will confess she was not Edward's daughter.

K. Rich. Wrong not her birth, she is of royal blood.

Q. Eliz. To save her life, I'll say she is not so.

K. Rich. Her life is only safest in her birth.

Q. Eliz. And only in that safety died her brothers.

K. Rich. Lo, at their births good stars were opposite.

Q. Eliz. No, to their lives bad friends were contrary.

K. Rich. All unavoided is the doom of destiny.

Q. Eliz. True, when avoided grace makes destiny:
My babes were destined to a fairer death,
If grace had bless'd thee with a fairer life.

K. Rich. You speak as if that I had slain my cousins.

Q. Eliz. Cousins, indeed; and by their uncle cozen'd
Of comfort, kingdom, kindred, freedom, life.
Whose hand soever lanced their tender hearts,
Thy head, all indirectly, gave direction:
No doubt the murderous knife was dull and blunt
Till it was whetted on thy stone-hard heart,
To revel in the entrails of my lambs.
But that still use of grief makes wild grief tame,
My tongue should to thy ears not name my boys
Till that my nails were anchor'd in thine eyes;
And I, in such a desperate bay of death,
Like a poor bark, of sails and tackling reft,
Rush all to pieces on thy rocky bosom.

K. Rich. Madam, so thrive I in my enterprise
And dangerous success of bloody wars,
As I intend more good to you and yours
Than ever you or yours were by me wrong'd!

Q. Eliz. What good is cover'd with the face of heaven,
To be discover'd, that can do me good?

K. Rich. The advancement of your children, gentle lady.

Q. Eliz. Up to some scaffold, there to lose their heads?

K. Rich. No, to the dignity and height of honour,
The high imperial type of this earth's glory.

Q. Eliz. Flatter my sorrows with report of it;

Tell me what state, what dignity, what honour,
Canst thou demise to any child of mine?

K. Rich. Even all I have; yea, and myself and all,
Will I withal endow a child of thine;
So in the Lethe of thy angry soul
Thou drown the sad remembrance of those wrongs
Which thou supposest I have done to thee.

Q. Eliz. Be brief, lest that the process of thy kindness
Last longer telling than thy kindness' date.

K. Rich. Then know, that from my soul I love thy daughter.

Q. Eliz. My daughter's mother thinks it with her soul.

K. Rich. What do you think?

Q. Eliz. That thou dost love my daughter from thy soul:
So from thy soul's love didst thou love her brothers;
And from my heart's love I do thank thee for it.

K. Rich. Be not so hasty to confound my meaning:
I mean, that with my soul I love thy daughter,
And mean to make her queen of England.

Q. Eliz. Say then, who dost thou mean shall be her king?

K. Rich. Even he that makes her queen: who should be else?

Q. Eliz. What, thou?

K. Rich. I, even I: what think you of it, madam?

Q. Eliz. How canst thou woo her?

K. Rich. That would I learn of you,
As one that are best acquainted with her humour.

Q. Eliz. And wilt thou learn of me?

K. Rich. Madam, with all my heart.

Q. Eliz. Send to her, by the man that slew her brothers,
A pair of bleeding hearts; thereon engrave
Edward and York; then haply she will weep:
Therefore present to her,—as sometime Margaret
Did to thy father, steep'd in Rutland's blood,—
A handkerchief; which, say to her, did drain
The purple sap from her sweet brother's body.

And bid her dry her weeping eyes therewith.
If this inducement force her not to love,
Send her a story of thy noble acts;
Tell her thou madest away her uncle Clarence,
Her uncle Rivers; yea, and, for her sake,
Madest quick conveyance with her good aunt Anne.

K. Rich. Come, come, you mock me; this is not the way
To win your daughter.

Q. Eliz. There is no other way;
Unless thou couldst put on some other shape,
And not be Richard that hath done all this.

K. Rich. Say that I did all this for love of her.

Q. Eliz. Nay, then indeed she cannot choose but hate thee,
Having bought love with such a bloody spoil.

K. Rich. Look, what is done cannot be now amended:
Men shall deal unadvisedly sometimes,
Which after hours give leisure to repent.
If I did take the kingdom from your sons,
To make amends, I 'll give it to your daughter.
If I have kill'd the issue of your womb,
To quicken your increase, I will beget
Mine issue of your blood upon your daughter:
A grandam's name is little less in love
Than is the doting title of a mother;
They are as children but one step below,
Even of your mettle, of your very blood;
Of all one pain, save for a night of groans
Endured of her, for whom you bid like sorrow.
Your children were vexatious to your youth,
But mine shall be a comfort to your age.
The loss you have is but a son being king,
And by that loss your daughter is made queen.
I cannot make you what amends I would,
Therefore accept such kindness as I can.
Dorset your son, that with a fearful soul
Leads discontented steps in foreign soil,

This fair alliance quickly shall call home
To high promotions and great dignity:
The king, that calls your beauteous daughter wife,
Familiarly shall call thy Dorset brother;
Again shall you be mother to a king,
And all the ruins of distressful times
Repair'd with double riches of content.
What! we have many goodly days to see:
The liquid drops of tears that you have shed
Shall come again, transform'd to orient pearl,
Advantaging their loan with interest
Of ten times double gain of happiness.
Go, then, my mother, to thy daughter go;
Make bold her bashful years with your experience;
Prepare her ears to hear a wooer's tale;
Put in her tender heart the aspiring flame
Of golden sovereignty; acquaint the princess
With the sweet silent hours of marriage joys;
And when this arm of mine hath chastised
The petty rebel, dull-brain'd Buckingham,
Bound with triumphant garlands will I come
And lead thy daughter to a conqueror's bed;
To whom I will retail my conquest won,
And she shall be sole victress, Cæsar's Cæsar.

Q. Eliz. What were I best to say? her father's brother
Would be her lord? or shall I say, her uncle?
Or, he that slew her brothers and her uncles?
Under what title shall I woo for thee,
That God, the law, my honour and her love,
Can make seem pleasing to her tender years?

K. Rich. Infer fair England's peace by this alliance.

Q. Eliz. Which she shall purchase with still lasting war.

K. Rich. Say that the king, which may command, entreats.

Q. Eliz. That at her hands which the king's King forbids.

K. Rich. Say, she shall be a high and mighty queen.

Q. Eliz. To wail the title, as her mother doth.

K. Rich. Say, I will love her everlastingly.

Q. Eliz. But how long shall that title 'ever' last?
K. Rich. Sweetly in force unto her fair life's end.
Q. Eliz. But how long fairly shall her sweet life last?
K. Rich. So long as heaven and nature lengthens it.
Q. Eliz. So long as hell and Richard likes of it.
K. Rich. Say, I, her sovereign, am her subject love.
Q. Eliz. But she, your subject, loathes such sovereignty.
K. Rich. Be eloquent in my behalf to her.
Q. Eliz. An honest tale speeds best being plainly told.
K. Rich. Then in plain terms tell her my loving tale.
Q. Eliz. Plain and not honest is too harsh a style.
K. Rich. Your reasons are too shallow and too quick.
Q. Eliz. O no, my reasons are too deep and dead;
Too deep and dead, poor infants, in their grave.
K. Rich. Harp not on that string, madam; that is past.
Q. Eliz. Harp on it still shall I till heartstrings break.
K. Rich. Now, by my George, my garter, and my crown,—
Q. Eliz. Profaned, dishonour'd, and the third usurp'd.
K. Rich. I swear—
Q. Eliz. By nothing; for this is no oath:
The George, profaned, hath lost his holy honour;
The garter, blemish'd, pawn'd his knightly virtue;
The crown, usurp'd, disgraced his kingly glory.
If something thou wilt swear to be believed,
Swear then by something that thou hast not wrong'd.
K. Rich. Now, by the world—
Q. Eliz. 'Tis full of thy foul wrongs.
K. Rich. My father's death—
Q. Eliz. Thy life hath that dishonour'd.
K. Rich. Then, by myself—
Q. Eliz. Thyself thyself misusest.
K. Rich. Why then, by God—
Q. Eliz. God's wrong is most of all.
If thou hadst fear'd to break an oath by Him,

The unity the king thy brother made
Had not been broken, nor my brother slain :
If thou hadst fear'd to break an oath by Him,
The imperial metal, circling now thy brow,
Had graced the tender temples of my child,
And both the princes had been breathing here,
Which now, two tender playfellows for dust,
Thy broken faith hath made a prey for worms.
What canst thou swear by now ?

K. Rich. The time to come.

Q. Eliz. That thou hast wronged in the time o'erpast;
For I myself have many tears to wash
Hereafter time, for time past wrong'd by thee.
The children live, whose parents thou hast slaughter'd,
Ungovern'd youth, to wail it in their age ;
The parents live, whose children thou hast butcher'd,
Old wither'd plants, to wail it with their age.
Swear not by time to come ; for that thou hast
Misused ere used, by time misused o'erpast.

K. Rich. As I intend to prosper and repent,
So thrive I in my dangerous attempt
Of hostile arms ! myself myself confound !
Heaven and fortune bar me happy hours !
Day, yield me not thy light ; nor, night, thy rest !
Be opposite all planets of good luck
To my proceedings, if, with pure heart's love,
Immaculate devotion, holy thoughts,
I tender not thy beauteous princely daughter !
In her consists my happiness and thine ;
Without her, follows to this land and me,
To thee, herself, and many a Christian soul,
Death, desolation, ruin and decay :
It cannot be avoided but by this ;
It will not be avoided but by this.
Therefore, good mother,—I must call you so—
Be the attorney of my love to her :
Plead what I will be, not what I have been ;
Not my deserts, but what I will deserve :

Urge the necessity and state of times,
And be not peevish-fond in great designs.

Q. Eliz. Shall I be tempted of the devil thus?

K. Rich. Ay, if the devil tempt thee to do good.

Q. Eliz. Shall I forget myself to be myself?

K. Rich. Ay, if yourself's remembrance wrong yourself.

Q. Eliz. But thou didst kill my children.

K. Rich. But in your daughter's womb I bury them:
Where in that nest of spicery they shall breed
Selves of themselves, to your recomforture.

Q. Eliz. Shall I go win my daughter to thy will?

K. Rich. And be a happy mother by the deed.

Q. Eliz. I go. Write to me very shortly,
And you shall understand from me her mind.

K. Rich. Bear her my true love's kiss; and so farewell.
[*Exit Queen Elizabeth.*
Relenting fool, and shallow, changing woman!

Enter RATCLIFF; CATESBY *following.*

How now! what news?

Rat. My gracious sovereign, on the western coast
Rideth a puissant navy; to the shore
Throng many doubtful hollow-hearted friends,
Unarm'd, and unresolved to beat them back:
'Tis thought that Richmond is their admiral;
And there they hull, expecting but the aid
Of Buckingham to welcome them ashore.

K. Rich. Some light-foot friend post to the Duke of Norfolk:
Ratcliff, thyself, or Catesby; where is he?

Cate. Here, my lord.

K. Rich. Fly to the duke: [*To Ratcliff*] Post thou to Salisbury:
When thou comest thither,—[*To Catesby*] Dull, unmindful villain,
Why stand'st thou still, and go'st not to the duke?

Cate. First, mighty sovereign, let me know your mind,
What from your grace I shall deliver to him.

K. Rich. O, true, good Catesby: bid him levy straight
The greatest strength and power he can make,
And meet me presently at Salisbury.

Cate. I go. [*Exit.*

Rat. What is't your highness' pleasure I shall do
At Salisbury?

K. Rich. Why, what wouldst thou do there before I go?

Rat. Your highness told me I should post before.

K. Rich. My mind is changed, sir, my mind is changed.

Enter LORD STANLEY.

How now, what news with you?

Stan. None good, my lord, to please you with the hearing;
Nor none so bad, but it may well be told.

K. Rich. Hoyday, a riddle! neither good nor bad!
Why dost thou run so many mile about,
When thou mayst tell thy tale a nearer way?
Once more, what news?

Stan. Richmond is on the seas.

K. Rich. There let him sink, and be the seas on him!
White-liver'd runagate, what doth he there?

Stan. I know not, mighty sovereign, but by guess.

K. Rich. Well, sir, as you guess, as you guess?

Stan. Stirr'd up by Dorset, Buckingham, and Ely,
He makes for England, there to claim the crown.

K. Rich. Is the chair empty? is the sword unsway'd?
Is the king dead? the empire unpossess'd?
What heir of York is there alive but we?
And who is England's king but great York's heir?
Then, tell me, what doth he upon the sea?

Stan. Unless for that, my liege, I cannot guess.

K. Rich. Unless for that he comes to be your liege,

You cannot guess wherefore the Welshman comes.
Thou wilt revolt, and fly to him, I fear.

Stan. No, mighty liege; therefore mistrust me not.

K. Rich. Where is thy power, then, to beat him back?
Where are thy tenants and thy followers?
Are they not now upon the western shore,
Safe-conducting the rebels from their ships?

Stan. No, my good lord, my friends are in the north.

K. Rich. Cold friends to Richard: what do they in the north,
When they should serve their sovereign in the west?

Stan. They have not been commanded, mighty sovereign:
Please it your majesty to give me leave,
I'll muster up my friends, and meet your grace
Where and what time your majesty shall please.

K. Rich. Ay, ay, thou wouldst be gone to join with Richmond:
I will not trust you, sir.

Stan. Most mighty sovereign,
You have no cause to hold my friendship doubtful:
I never was nor never will be false.

K. Rich. Well,
Go muster men; but, hear you, leave behind
Your son, George Stanley: look your faith be firm,
Or else his head's assurance is but frail.

Stan. So deal with him as I prove true to you. [*Exit.*

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. My gracious sovereign, now in Devonshire,
As I by friends am well advertised,
Sir Edward Courtney, and the haughty prelate
Bishop of Exeter, his brother there,
With many moe confederates, are in arms.

Enter another Messenger.

Sec. Mess. My liege, in Kent the Guildfords are in arms;
And every hour more competitors
Flock to their aid, and still their power increaseth.

Enter another Messenger.

Third Mess. My lord, the army of the Duke of Buckingham—

K. Rich. Out on you, owls! nothing but songs of death? [*He striketh him.*
Take that, until thou bring me better news.

Third Mess. The news I have to tell your majesty
Is, that by sudden floods and fall of waters,
Buckingham's army is dispersed and scatter'd;
And he himself wander'd away alone,
No man knows whither.

K. Rich. I cry thee mercy:
There is my purse to cure that blow of thine.
Hath any well-advised friend proclaim'd
Reward to him that brings the traitor in?

Third Mess. Such proclamation hath been made my liege.

Enter Another Messenger.

Fourth Mess. Sir Thomas Lovel and Lord Marquis Dorset,
'Tis said, my liege, in Yorkshire are in arms.
Yet this good comfort bring I to your grace,
The Breton navy is dispersed by tempest:
Richmond, in Dorsetshire, sent out a boat
Unto the shore, to ask those on the banks
If they were his assistants, yea or no;
Who answer'd him, they came from Buckingham
Upon his party: he, mistrusting them,
Hoised sail and made away for Brittany.

K. Rich. March on, march on, since we are up in arms;
If not to fight with foreign enemies,
Yet to beat down these rebels here at home.

Re-enter CATESBY.

Cate. My liege, the Duke of Buckingham is taken;
That is the best news: that the Earl of Richmond

Is with a mighty power landed at Milford,
Is colder tidings, yet they must be told.

K. Rich. Away towards Salisbury! while we reason here,
A royal battle might be won and lost:
Some one take order Buckingham be brought
To Salisbury; the rest march on with me.
[*Flourish. Exeunt.*

SCENE V. *Lord Derby's house.*

Enter DERBY *and* SIR CHRISTOPHER URSWICK.

Der. Sir Christopher, tell Richmond this from me:
That in the sty of this most bloody boar
My son George Stanley is frank'd up in hold:
If I revolt, off goes young George's head;
The fear of that withholds my present aid.
But, tell me, where is princely Richmond now?

Chris. At Pembroke, or at Ha'rford-west, in Wales.

Der. What men of name resort to him?

Chris. Sir Walter Herbert, a renowned soldier;
Sir Gilbert Talbot, Sir William Stanley;
Oxford, redoubted Pembroke, Sir James Blunt,
And Rice ap Thomas, with a valiant crew;
And many moe of noble fame and worth:
And towards London they do bend their course,
If by the way they be not fought withal.

Der. Return unto thy lord; commend me to him:
Tell him the queen hath heartily consented
He shall espouse Elizabeth her daughter.
These letters will resolve him of my mind.
Farewell. [*Exeunt.*

ACT V.

SCENE I. *Salisbury. An open place.*

Enter the Sheriff, *and* BUCKINGHAM, *with halberds, led to execution.*

Buck. Will not King Richard let me speak with him?

Sher. No, my good lord; therefore be patient.

Buck. Hastings, and Edward's children, Rivers, Grey,
Holy King Henry, and thy fair son Edward,
Vaughan, and all that have miscarried
By underhand corrupted foul injustice,
If that your moody discontented souls
Do through the clouds behold this present hour,
Even for revenge mock my destruction!
This is All-Souls' day, fellows, is it not?

Sher. It is, my lord.

Buck. Why, then All-Souls' day is my body's doomsday.
This is the day that, in King Edward's time,
I wish'd might fall on me, when I was found
False to his children or his wife's allies;
This is the day wherein I wish'd to fall
By the false faith of him I trusted most;
This, this All-Souls' day to my fearful soul
Is the determined respite of my wrongs:
That high All-seer that I dallied with
Hath turn'd my feigned prayer on my head
And given in earnest what I begg'd in jest.
Thus doth he force the swords of wicked men
To turn their own points on their masters' bosoms:
Now Margaret's curse is fallen upon my head;
'When he,' quoth she, 'shall split thy heart with sorrow,
Remember Margaret was a prophetess.'
Come, sirs, convey me to the block of shame;
Wrong hath but wrong, and blame the due of blame.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE II. *The camp near Tamworth.*

Enter RICHMOND, OXFORD, BLUNT, HERBERT, *and others, with drum and colours.*

Richm. Fellows in arms, and my most loving friends,
Bruised underneath the yoke of tyranny,
Thus far into the bowels of the land
Have we march'd on without impediment;
And here receive we from our father Stanley
Lines of fair comfort and encouragement.
The wretched, bloody, and usurping boar,
That spoil'd your summer fields and fruitful vines,
Swills your warm blood like wash, and makes his trough
In your embowell'd bosoms,—this foul swine
Lies now even in the centre of this isle,
Near to the town of Leicester, as we learn:
From Tamworth thither is but one day's march.
In God's name, cheerly on, courageous friends,
To reap the harvest of perpetual peace
By this one bloody trial of sharp war.

Oxf. Every man's conscience is a thousand swords,
To fight against that bloody homicide.

Herb. I doubt not but his friends will fly to us.

Blunt. He hath no friends but who are friends for fear,
Which in his greatest need will shrink from him.

Richm. All for our vantage. Then, in God's name, march:
True hope is swift, and flies with swallow's wings;
Kings it makes gods, and meaner creatures kings.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE III. *Bosworth Field.*

Enter KING RICHARD *in arms, with* NORFOLK, *the* EARL OF SURREY, *and others.*

K. Rich. Here pitch our tents, even here in Bosworth field.

My Lord of Surrey, why look you so sad?

Sur. My heart is ten times lighter than my looks.

K. Rich. My Lord of Norfolk,—

Nor. Here, most gracious liege.

K. Rich. Norfolk, we must have knocks; ha! must we not?

Nor. We must both give and take, my gracious lord.

K. Rich. Up with my tent there! here will I lie to-night;
But where to-morrow? Well, all's one for that.
Who hath descried the number of the foe?

Nor. Six or seven thousand is their utmost power.

K. Rich. Why, our battalion trebles that account:
Besides, the king's name is a tower of strength,
Which they upon the adverse party want.
Up with my tent there! Valiant gentlemen,
Let us survey the vantage of the field;
Call for some men of sound direction:
Let's want no discipline, make no delay;
For, lords, to-morrow is a busy day. [*Exeunt.*

Enter, on the other side of the field, RICHMOND, SIR WILLIAM BRANDON, OXFORD, *and others. Some of the* Soldiers *pitch Richmond's tent.*

Richm. The weary sun hath made a golden set,
And, by the bright track of his fiery car,
Gives signal of a goodly day to-morrow.
Sir William Brandon, you shall bear my standard.
Give me some ink and paper in my tent:
I'll draw the form and model of our battle,
Limit each leader to his several charge,
And part in just proportion our small strength.
My Lord of Oxford, you, Sir William Brandon,
And you, Sir Walter Herbert, stay with me.
The Earl of Pembroke keeps his regiment:
Good Captain Blunt, bear my good-night to him,
And by the second hour in the morning

Desire the earl to see me in my tent:
Yet one thing more, good Blunt, before thou go'st,
Where is Lord Stanley quarter'd, dost thou know?

Blunt. Unless I have mista'en his colours much,
Which well I am assured I have not done,
His regiment lies half a mile at least
South from the mighty power of the king.

Richm. If without peril it be possible,
Good Captain Blunt, bear my good-night to him,
And give him from me this most needful scroll.

Blunt. Upon my life, my lord, I'll undertake it;
And so, God give you quiet rest to-night!

Richm. Good night, good Captain Blunt. Come, gentlemen,
Let us consult upon to-morrow's business:
In to our tent; the air is raw and cold.

[*They withdraw into the tent.*

Enter, to his tent, KING RICHARD, NORFOLK, RATCLIFF, CATESBY, *and others.*

K. Rich. What is't o'clock?

Cate. It's supper-time, my lord;
It's nine o'clock.

K. Rich. I will not sup to-night.
Give me some ink and paper.
What, is my beaver easier than it was?
And all my armour laid into my tent?

Cate. It is, my liege; and all things are in readiness.

K. Rich. Good Norfolk, hie thee to thy charge;
Use careful watch, choose trusty sentinels.

Nor. I go, my lord.

K. Rich. Stir with the lark to-morrow, gentle Norfolk.

Nor. I warrant you, my lord. [*Exit.*

K. Rich. Catesby!

Cate. My lord?

K. Rich. Send out a pursuivant at arms

To Stanley's regiment; bid him bring his power
Before sunrising, lest his son George fall
Into the blind cave of eternal night. [*Exit Catesby.*
Fill me a bowl of wine. Give me a watch.
Saddle white Surrey for the field to-morrow.
Look that my staves be sound, and not too heavy.
Ratcliff!

Rat. My lord?

K. Rich. Saw'st thou the melancholy Lord Northumberland?

Rat. Thomas the Earl of Surrey, and himself,
Much about cock-shut time, from troop to troop
Went through the army, cheering up the soldiers.

K. Rich. So, I am satisfied. Give me a bowl of wine:
I have not that alacrity of spirit,
Nor cheer of mind, that I was wont to have.
Set it down. Is ink and paper ready?

Rat. It is, my lord.

K. Rich. Bid my guard watch; leave me.
Ratcliff, about the mid of night come to my tent
And help to arm me. Leave me, I say.
[*Exeunt Ratcliff and the other Attendants.*

Enter DERBY *to* RICHMOND *in his tent, Lords and others attending.*

Der. Fortune and victory sit on thy helm!

Richm. All comfort that the dark night can afford
Be to thy person, noble father-in-law!
Tell me, how fares our loving mother?

Der. I, by attorney, bless thee from thy mother,
Who prays continually for Richmond's good:
So much for that. The silent hours steal on,
And flaky darkness breaks within the east.
In brief, for so the season bids us be,
Prepare thy battle early in the morning,
And put thy fortune to the arbitrement
Of bloody strokes and mortal-staring war.

I, as I may—that which I would I cannot,—
With best advantage will deceive the time,
And aid thee in this doubtful shock of arms:
But on thy side I may not be too forward,
Lest, being seen, thy brother, tender George,
Be executed in his father's sight.
Farewell: the leisure and the fearful time
Cuts off the ceremonious vows of love
And ample interchange of sweet discourse,
Which so long sunder'd friends should dwell upon:
God give us leisure for these rites of love!
Once more, adieu: be valiant, and speed well!

Richm. Good lords, conduct him to his regiment:
I 'll strive, with troubled thoughts, to take a nap,
Lest leaden slumber peise me down to-morrow,
When I should mount with wings of victory:
Once more, good night, kind lords and gentlemen.
[*Exeunt all but Richmond.*
O Thou, whose captain I account myself,
Look on my forces with a gracious eye;
Put in their hands thy bruising irons of wrath,
That they may crush down with a heavy fall
The usurping helmets of our adversaries!
Make us thy ministers of chastisement,
That we may praise thee in the victory!
To thee I do commend my watchful soul,
Ere I let fall the windows of mine eyes:
Sleeping and waking, O, defend me still! [*Sleeps.*

Enter the Ghost of PRINCE EDWARD, *son to* HENRY the Sixth.

Ghost. [*To Richard*] Let me sit heavy on thy soul to-morrow!
Think, how thou stab'dst me in my prime of youth
At Tewksbury: despair, therefore, and die!
[*To Richmond*] Be cheerful, Richmond; for the wronged souls
Of butcher'd princes fight in thy behalf:
King Henry's issue, Richmond, comforts thee.

Enter the Ghost of HENRY the Sixth.

Ghost. [*To Richard*] When I was mortal, my anointed body
By thee was punched full of deadly holes:
Think on the Tower and me: despair, and die!
Harry the Sixth bids thee despair and die!
[*To Richmond*] Virtuous and holy, be thou conqueror!
Harry, that prophesied thou shouldst be king,
Doth comfort thee in thy sleep: live, and flourish!

Enter the Ghost of CLARENCE.

Ghost. [*To Richard*] Let me sit heavy on thy soul to-morrow!
I, that was wash'd to death with fulsome wine,
Poor Clarence, by thy guile betrayed to death!
To-morrow in the battle think on me,
And fall thy edgeless sword: despair, and die!—
[*To Richmond*] Thou offspring of the house of Lancaster,
The wronged heirs of York do pray for thee:
Good angels guard thy battle! live, and flourish!

Enter the Ghosts of RIVERS, GREY, *and* VAUGHAN.

Ghost of R. [*To Richard*] Let me sit heavy on thy soul to-morrow,
Rivers, that died at Pomfret! despair, and die!

Ghost of G. [*To Richard*] Think upon Grey, and let thy soul despair!

Ghost of V. [*To Richard*] Think upon Vaughan, and, with guilty fear,
Let fall thy lance: despair, and die!

All. [*To Richmond*] Awake, and think our wrongs in Richard's bosom
Will conquer him! awake, and win the day!

Enter the Ghost of HASTINGS.

Ghost. [*To Richard*] Bloody and guilty, guiltily awake,
And in a bloody battle end thy days!
Think on Lord Hastings: despair, and die!

[*To Richmond*] Quiet untroubled soul, awake, awake!
Arm, fight, and conquer, for fair England's sake!

Enter the Ghosts of the two young Princes.

Ghosts. [*To Richard*] Dream on thy cousins smother'd in the Tower:
Let us be lead within thy bosom, Richard,
And weigh thee down to ruin, shame, and death!
Thy nephews' souls bid thee despair and die!
[*To Richmond*] Sleep, Richmond, sleep in peace, and wake in joy;
Good angels guard thee from the boar's annoy!
Live, and beget a happy race of kings!
Edward's unhappy sons do bid thee flourish.

Enter the Ghost of LADY ANNE.

Ghost. [*To Richard*] Richard, thy wife, that wretched Anne thy wife.
That never slept a quiet hour with thee,
Now fills thy sleep with perturbations:
To-morrow in the battle think on me,
And fall thy edgeless sword: despair, and die!
[*To Richmond*] Thou quiet soul, sleep thou a quiet sleep;
Dream of success and happy victory!
Thy adversary's wife doth pray for thee.

Enter the Ghost of BUCKINGHAM.

Ghost. [*To Richard*] The first was I that help'd thee to the crown;
The last was I that felt thy tyranny:
O, in the battle think on Buckingham,
And die in terror of thy guiltiness!
Dream on, dream on, of bloody deeds and death:
Fainting, despair; despairing, yield thy breath!
[*To Richmond*] I died for hope ere I could lend thee aid:
But cheer thy heart, and be thou not dismay'd:
God and good angels fight on Richmond's side;
And Richard falls in height of all his pride.

[*The Ghosts vanish. King Richard starts out of his dream.*

K. Rich. Give me another horse: bind up my wounds.
Have mercy, Jesu!—Soft! I did but dream.
O coward conscience, how dost thou afflict me!
The lights burn blue. It is now dead midnight.
Cold fearful drops stand on my trembling flesh.
What do I fear? myself? there's none else by:
Richard loves Richard; that is, I am I.
Is there a murderer here? No. Yes, I am:
Then fly. What, from myself? Great reason why:
Lest I revenge. What, myself upon myself?
Alack, I love myself. Wherefore? for any good
That I myself have done unto myself?
O, no! alas, I rather hate myself
For hateful deeds committed by myself!
I am a villain: yet I lie, I am not.
Fool, of thyself speak well: fool, do not flatter.
My conscience hath a thousand several tongues,
And every tongue brings in a several tale,
And every tale condemns me for a villain.
Perjury, perjury, in the high'st degree;
Murder, stern murder, in the direst degree;
All several sins, all used in each degree,
Throng to the bar, crying all, Guilty! guilty!
I shall despair. There is no creature loves me;
And if I die, no soul shall pity me:
Nay, wherefore should they, since that I myself
Find in myself no pity to myself?
Methought the souls of all that I had murder'd
Came to my tent; and every one did threat
To-morrow's vengeance on the head of Richard.

Enter RATCLIFF.

Rat. My lord!

K. Rich. 'Zounds! who is there?

Rat. Ratcliff, my lord; 'tis I. The early village-cock
Hath twice done salutation to the morn;
Your friends are up, and buckle on their armour.

K. Rich. O Ratcliff, I have dream'd a fearful dream!
What thinkest thou, will our friends prove all true?

Rat. No doubt, my lord.

K. Rich. O Ratcliff, I fear, I fear,—

Rat. Nay, good my lord, be not afraid of shadows.

K. Rich. By the apostle Paul, shadows to-night
Have struck more terror to the soul of Richard
Than can the substance of ten thousand soldiers
Armed in proof, and led by shallow Richmond.
It is not yet near day. Come, go with me;
Under our tents I 'll play the eaves-dropper,
To see if any mean to shrink from me. [*Exeunt.*

Enter the Lords *to* RICHMOND, *sitting in his tent.*

Lords. Good morrow, Richmond!

Richm. Cry mercy, lords and watchful gentlemen,
That you have ta'en a tardy sluggard here.

Lords. How have you slept, my lord?

Richm. The sweetest sleep, and fairest-boding dreams
That ever enter'd in a drowsy head,
Have I since your departure had, my lords.
Methought their souls, whose bodies Richard murder'd,
Came to my tent, and cried on victory:
I promise you, my soul is very jocund
In the remembrance of so fair a dream.
How far into the morning is it, lords?

Lords. Upon the stroke of four.

Richm. Why then 'tis time to arm and give direction.

His oration to his Soldiers.

More than I have said, loving countrymen,
The leisure and enforcement of the time
Forbids to dwell upon: yet remember this,
God and our good cause fight upon our side;
The prayers of holy saints and wronged souls,
Like high-rear'd bulwarks, stand before our faces;
Richard except, those whom we fight against
Had rather have us win than him they follow:
For what is he they follow? truly, gentlemen,

A bloody tyrant and a homicide;
One raised in blood, and one in blood establish'd;
One that made means to come by what he hath,
And slaughter'd those that were the means to help him;
A base foul stone, made precious by the foil
Of England's chair, where he is falsely set;
One that hath ever been God's enemy:
Then, if you fight against God's enemy,
God will in justice ward you as his soldiers;
If you do sweat to put a tyrant down,
You sleep in peace, the tyrant being slain;
If you do fight against your country's foes,
Your country's fat shall pay your pains the hire;
If you do fight in safeguard of your wives,
Your wives shall welcome home the conquerors;
If you do free your children from the sword,
Your children's children quit it in your age.
Then, in the name of God and all these rights,
Advance your standards, draw your willing swords.
For me, the ransom of my bold attempt
Shall be this cold corpse on the earth's cold face;
But if I thrive, the gain of my attempt
The least of you shall share his part thereof.
Sound drums and trumpets boldly and cheerfully;
God and Saint George! Richmond and victory! [*Exeunt.*

Re-enter KING RICHARD, RATCLIFF, *Attendants and Forces.*

K. Rich. What said Northumberland as touching Richmond?

Rat. That he was never trained up in arms.

K. Rich. He said the truth: and what said Surrey then?

Rat. He smiled and said 'The better for our purpose.'

K. Rich. He was in the right; and so indeed it is.
[*The clock striketh.*
Tell the clock there. Give me a calendar.
Who saw the sun to-day?

Rat. Not I, my lord.

K. Rich. Then he disdains to shine; for by the book
He should have braved the east an hour ago:
A black day will it be to somebody.
Ratcliff!

Rat. My lord?

K. Rich. The sun will not be seen to-day;
The sky doth frown and lour upon our army.
I would these dewy tears were from the ground.
Not shine to-day! Why, what is that to me
More than to Richmond? for the selfsame heaven
That frowns on me looks sadly upon him.

Enter NORFOLK.

Nor. Arm, arm, my lord; the foe vaunts in the field.

K. Rich. Come, bustle, bustle. Caparison my horse.
Call up Lord Stanley, bid him bring his power:
I will lead forth my soldiers to the plain,
And thus my battle shall be ordered:
My foreward shall be drawn out all in length,
Consisting equally of horse and foot;
Our archers shall be placed in the midst:
John Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Earl of Surrey,
Shall have the leading of this foot and horse.
They thus directed, we will follow
In the main battle, whose puissance on either side
Shall be well winged with our chiefest horse.
This, and Saint George to boot! What think'st thou, Norfolk?

Nor. A good direction, warlike sovereign.
This found I on my tent this morning.

[*He sheweth him a paper.*

K. Rich. [*Reads*] 'Jockey of Norfolk, be not too bold,
For Dickon thy master is bought and sold.'
A thing devised by the enemy.
Go, gentlemen, every man unto his charge:
Let not our babbling dreams affright our souls:
Conscience is but a word that cowards use,

Devised at first to keep the strong in awe:
Our strong arms be our conscience, swords our law.
March on, join bravely, let us to 't pell-mell;
If not to heaven, then hand in hand to hell.

His oration to his Army.

What shall I say more than I have inferr'd?
Remember whom you are to cope withal;
A sort of vagabonds, rascals, and runaways,
A scum of Bretons, and base lackey peasants,
Whom their o'er-cloyed country vomits forth
To desperate ventures and assured destruction.
You sleeping safe, they bring to you unrest;
You having lands, and blest with beauteous wives,
They would restrain the one, distain the other.
And who doth lead them but a paltry fellow,
Long kept in Bretagne at our mother's cost?
A milk-sop, one that never in his life
Felt so much cold as over shoes in snow?
Let's whip these stragglers o'er the seas again;
Lash hence these overweening rags of France,
These famish'd beggars, weary of their lives;
Who, but for dreaming on this fond exploit,
For want of means, poor rats, had hang'd themselves.
If we be conquer'd, let men conquer us,
And not these bastard Bretons; whom our fathers
Have in their own land beaten, bobb'd, and thump'd,
And in record, left them the heirs of shame.
Shall these enjoy our lands? lie with our wives?
Ravish our daughters? [*Drum afar off.*] Hark! I hear their drum.
Fight, gentlemen of England! fight, bold yeomen!
Draw, archers, draw your arrows to the head!
Spur your proud horses hard, and ride in blood;
Amaze the welkin with your broken staves!

Enter a Messenger.

What says Lord Stanley? will he bring his power?

Mess. My lord, he doth deny to come.

K. Rich. Off with his son George's head!

Nor. My lord, the enemy is past the marsh:
After the battle let George Stanley die.

K. Rich. A thousand hearts are great within my bosom:
Advance our standards, set upon our foes;
Our ancient word of courage, fair Saint George,
Inspire us with the spleen of fiery dragons!
Upon them! Victory sits on our helms. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV. *Another part of the field.*

Alarum: excursions. Enter NORFOLK *and forces fighting; to him* CATESBY.

Cate. Rescue, my Lord of Norfolk, rescue, rescue!
The king enacts more wonders than a man,
Daring an opposite to every danger:
His horse is slain, and all on foot he fights,
Seeking for Richmond in the throat of death.
Rescue, fair lord, or else the day is lost!

Alarums. Enter KING RICHARD.

K. Rich. A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!

Cate. Withdraw, my lord; I'll help you to a horse.

K. Rich. Slave, I have set my life upon a cast,
And I will stand the hazard of the die:
I think there be six Richmonds in the field;
Five have I slain to-day instead of him.
A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse! [*Exeunt.*

SCENE V. *Another part of the field.*

Alarum. Enter RICHARD *and* RICHMOND; *they fight.* RICHARD *is slain. Retreat and flourish. Re-enter* RICHMOND, DERBY *bearing the crown, with divers other Lords.*

Richm. God and your arms be praised, victorious friends;
The day is ours, the bloody dog is dead.

Der. Courageous Richmond, well hast thou acquit thee.
Lo, here, this long-usurped royalty
From the dead temples of this bloody wretch
Have I pluck'd off, to grace thy brows withal:
Wear it, enjoy it, and make much of it.

Richm. Great God of heaven, say Amen to all!
But, tell me, is young George Stanley living?

Der. He is, my lord, and safe in Leicester town;
Whither, if it please you, we may now withdraw us.

Richm. What men of name are slain on either side?

Der. John Duke of Norfolk, Walter Lord Ferrers,
Sir Robert Brakenbury, and Sir William Brandon.

Richm. Inter their bodies as becomes their births:
Proclaim a pardon to the soldiers fled
That in submission will return to us:
And then, as we have ta'en the sacrament,
We will unite the white rose and the red.
Smile heaven upon this fair conjunction,
That long have frown'd upon their enmity!
What traitor hears me, and says not amen?
England hath long been mad, and scarr'd herself;
The brother blindly shed the brother's blood,
The father rashly slaughter'd his own son,
The son, compell'd, been butcher to the sire:
All this divided York and Lancaster,
Divided in their dire division,
O, now, let Richmond and Elizabeth,
The true succeeders of each royal house,

By God's fair ordinance conjoin together!
And let their heirs, God, if thy will be so,
Enrich the time to come with smooth-faced peace,
With smiling plenty and fair prosperous days!
Abate the edge of traitors, gracious Lord,
That would reduce these bloody days again,
And make poor England weep in streams of blood!
Let them not live to taste this land's increase
That would with treason wound this fair land's peace!
Now civil wounds are stopp'd, peace lives again:
That she may long live here, God say amen! [*Exeunt.*

NOTES.

ACT I.

Scene I.

THE acts and scenes, with a few exceptions, are marked in the folios throughout the play, but not in the quartos. Rowe was the first to give a list, though imperfect, of the Dramatis Personæ. In point of time, the play begins immediately after the conclusion of the Third Part of Henry VI. Henry's murder by Richard took place in the Tower on the night of Tuesday, the 21st of May, 1471 (Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 21, Camden Society); his body was brought to St. Paul's on the eve of Ascension Day, and on the following morning—that is, on Ascension Day itself—he was conveyed to Chertsey to be buried there (Gairdner, Life of Richard III, p. 19 note). The play therefore opens on Ascension Day, which in 1471 was on May 23; unless we suppose that the first and second scenes were on different days, in which case the play begins on May 22.

It will be seen as we proceed, that the dramatist has disregarded for his own purposes the historical order of events. For instance, in the first act we have the funeral of Henry VI, which took place in 1471, the arrest and murder of Clarence, which happened in 1478, and the last illness of Edward IV, in 1483, all welded together

'In the quick forge and working-house of thought.'

The scene, 'London. A street,' is probably near the Tower.

Enter Richard Duke of Gloucester. In the first year of his reign (1461), Edward IV 'created his two younger brethren dukes, that is to saie, lord George duke of Clarence, lord Richard duke of Glocester' (Holinshed, ed. 1586–7, vol. iii. p. 665). See 3 Henry VI, ii. 6. 103, 104. As Richard was born October 2, 1452, he was not nineteen years old when Henry VI was murdered, and could not have fought at the battle of St. Alban's in 1455, or at Wakefield in 1460, or Mortimer's Cross in 1461, as is represented in the Second and Third Parts of Henry VI (2 Henry VI, v. 1); still less could he have taken part in the scene which is placed immediately after the death of Cade in 1450.

1. *the winter of our discontent.* A common poetical figure. Compare Beaumont and Fletcher, The Prophetess, ii. 1:

'He is the sun
That keeps my blood in a perpetual spring;
But, in his absence, cold benumbing winter
Seizes on all my faculties.'

2. *this sun of York.* The quartos read 'sonne,' the folios 'son,' that the pun might not be missed. See i. 3. 267. The allusion is to the blazing sun adopted by Edward IV as his badge, in commemoration of the three suns which appeared on the day before the battle of Mortimer's Cross, which was fought on Feb. 3, 1461. 'The day before this battayle, about tenne of the clocke before noone, were seene three Suns in the firmament, shyning a like cleare, which after closed togither all in one' (Stow, Chronicles, ed. 1580, p. 709). Compare 3 Henry VI, ii. 1. 25–40: 'Dazzle mine eyes, or do I see three suns?' &c. In the coinage of 1465 Edward IV struck Nobles of 10s., which were called Rials or Rose Nobles, bearing on the reverse a blazing sun. As the figure of the sun in splendour, or the blazing sun, when rudely represented, was not unlike the rowel of a spur, these rials of Edward IV were commonly called spur-rials. The appearance of the three suns before the battle of Mortimer's Cross is mentioned by Drayton in his Miseries of Queen Margaret (quoted by Steevens), ed. 1631, p. 131:

'Three Suns were seene that instant to appeare,
Which soone againe shut vp themselues in one,
Ready to buckle as the Armies were,
Which this braue Duke tooke to himselfe alone.'

Once more in Edward's career he had reason to associate his badge of the blazing sun with success in war. At the battle of Barnet field, says Stow, 'diuers times the Earle of Warwikes men supposed that they had gotte the victorie of the fielde, but it happened that ye Earle of Oxfords men had a starre w^t^ streames both before & behinde on their liueries, and King Edwards men had the sunne with streames on their lyuerye: whervpon the Earle of Warwikes men by reason of the myst not well decerning the badges so lyke, shot at the Earle of Oxfordes men that were on their owne parte, and then the Earle of Oxforde and his men cryed treason, and fled with eight hundred men.' (Chronicles, p. 727.)

6. *our bruised arms.* Malone quotes Lucrece, 110:

'With bruised arms and wreaths of victory.'

Ib. hung up for monuments; like the armour of the Black Prince at Canterbury, and the helmet, shield, and saddle of Henry the Fifth, which once hung over his tomb in Westminster Abbey. The shield is gone, but the helmet and saddle remain. The former, says Dean Stanley, 'is in all probability "that very casque that did affright the air at Agincourt," which twice saved his life on that eventful day—still showing in its dints the marks of the ponderous sword of the Duke of Alençon,—the "bruised helmet" which he refused to have borne in state before him on his triumphal entry

into London.' (Memorials of Westminster Abbey, ed. 1868, p. 150.) In the time of Sir Roger de Coverley (Spectator, no. 329), and even as early as Elizabeth's days, the sword and shield of Edward III were among the relics of the Abbey. (Stanley, p. 141.)

7. *alarums.* The 'alarum' was the trumpet call or beat of drum summoning to arms (the Italian *all' arme*), to repel an attack. See iv. 4. 148, and note to Coriolanus, i. 4. 9, ii. 2. 74 (Clarendon Press ed.).

8. There is the same contrast between 'marches' and 'measures' in Lyly's Campaspe, iv. 3 (Works, ed. Fairholt): 'But let us draw in, to see how well it becomes them to tread the measures in a daunce, that were wont to set the order for a march.'

Ib. measures, stately and formal dances. Compare Richard II, i. 3. 291:

'Suppose the singing birds musicians,
The grass whereon thou tread'st the presence strew'd,
The flowers fair ladies, and thy steps no more
Than a delightful measure or a dance.'

And Much Ado, ii. 1. 80: 'The wedding, mannerly-modest, as a measure, full of state and ancientry.'

10. *barbed steeds*, horses with their warlike trappings. 'Barbed' is a corruption of 'barded,' from the French *barder*, which Cotgrave (Fr. Dict.) defines, 'To barbe, or trap, horses.' He gives also, 'Bardes: f. Barbes, or trappings, for horses of seruice, or of shew.' At the coronation of Henry VIII, lord Howard appeared with his companions 'armed at all points, their bases and bards, or trappers, were of greene veluet' (Holinshed, iii. 802, col. 2). See note on Coriolanus, iii. 2. 99 (Clarendon Press ed.). Reed quotes, in illustration of the present passage, the following from Lyly's Alexander and Campaspe, 1584: 'Is the warlike sound of drum and trump turned to the soft noise of lyre and lute? the neighing of barbed steeds, whose lowdnes filled the aire with terrour, and whose breathes dimmed the sun with smoake, converted to delicate tunes and amorous glances?' (Works, ed. Fairholt, i. 110.)

12. *He*, War, still personified as a rough soldier.

13. *a lute* was a kind of guitar, but superior in tone, 'being larger, and having a convex back, somewhat like the vertical section of a gourd, or more nearly resembling that of a pear. . . . It had virtually six strings, because, although the number was eleven or twelve, five, at least, were doubled, the first, or treble, being sometimes a single string. The head, in which the pegs to tune the strings were inserted, receded almost at a right angle.' (Chappell, Popular Music of the Olden Time, i. 102.)

17. *ambling*, mincing, walking affectedly, with a dancing gait. Compare Hamlet, iii. 1. 151: 'You jig, you amble, and you lisp, and nickname God's creatures, and make your wantonness your ignorance.' 1 Henry IV, iii. 2. 60:

'The skipping king he ambled up and down.'

18. *this fair proportion*, the goodly form appropriate to such luxurious indulgence. Compare 2 Henry VI, i. 3. 57:

'I thought King Henry had resembled thee
In courage, courtship, and proportion.'

And Titus Andronicus, v. 2. 106:

'Well mayst thou know her by thy own proportion,
For up and down she doth resemble thee.'

19. *feature* was used by Shakespeare and the writers of his time in a larger sense than at present. It denoted the whole exterior personal appearance, and was not confined as now to the countenance. 'Feature' was applied to the body as 'favour' to the face.

Ib. dissembling nature; that is, either false, fraudulent nature, or nature that disguises virtue and merit by hiding it under a repulsive exterior. Warburton took the latter view; Johnson, with greater probability, the former.

20. *Deform'd, unfinish'd.* Compare 3 Henry VI, v. 6. 51: 'An indigested and deformed lump.' Richard draws his own portrait both here and in the concluding scene of the Third Part of Henry VI in as unflattering colours as his worst enemies could wish. In this, as in other points of history, the dramatist follows Sir Thomas More's account as given by Holinshed (iii. p. 712, col. 1), where Richard is described as 'litle of stature, ill featured of limmes, crooke backed, his left shoulder much higher than his right, hard fauoured of visage, and such as is in states called warlie, in other men otherwise.'

22. *so lamely and unfashionable.* In many cases where two adverbs are coupled together, the termination of the one is made to serve for both.' Compare iii. 4. 50, and Richard II, i. 3. 3:

'The Duke of Norfolk, sprightfully and bold.'

23. *halt*, limp, walk lamely. See i. 2. 250. In Genesis xxxii. 31 it is said that Jacob 'halted upon his thigh.'

24. *this weak piping time of peace.* The pipe and tabor were signs of peace, as the drum and fife were symbolical of war. Thus Benedick says of Claudio, Much Ado, ii. 3. 13–15, 'I have known when there was no music with him but the drum and the fife; and now had he rather hear the tabor and the pipe.'

26. *to spy.* So the quartos. The folios have 'to see.' Compare 2 Kings xxiii. 16: 'And as Josiah turned himself he spied the sepulchres that were there in the mount.'

27. *descant*, originally a musical term. Mr. Hugh Carleton has pointed out to me that Richard, whose love of music is well known (Sharon Turner's History, ed. 1839, vii. 31), plays upon the terms of his favourite art throughout this speech: 'measures,' 'lute,' proportion,' 'piping.' 'descant,' 'determined,' 'inductions,' 'set,' 'G,' being all used with a special sense in music. The second part of Morley's Plaine and Easie Introduction to prac-

ticall Musicke' (1597) treats of Descant, a term employed by musicians in divers significations, which he enumerates. 'Last of all, they take it for singing a part extempore vpon a playne-song, in which sence we commonly vse it: so that when a man talketh of a Descanter, it must be vnderstood of one that can extempore sing a part vpon a playnesong' (p. 70). Richard's deformity is here the plainsong of his descant.

28–31. Bacon, in his Essay xliv. 'Of Deformity,' says 'Deformed persons are commonly even with Nature: For as Nature hath done ill by them; So doe they by Nature: Being for the most part, (as the Scripture saith) *void of Naturall Affection*; And so they have their Revenge of Nature.'

29. *well-spoken days.* Malone needlessly suggested 'dames' instead of 'days'; for the phrase 'well-spoken days' occurs, as Boswell points out, in the prologue to Ben Jonson's Every Man out of his Humour.

32. *inductions dangerous*, the introductions or beginnings of mischief. In this sense 'induction' is again used in this play, iv. 4. 5, and in 1 Henry IV, iii. 1. 2:

> 'These promises are fair, the parties sure,
> And our induction full of prosperous hope.'

'The induction,' says Johnson, 'is preparatory to the play'; as in the case of The Taming of the Shrew and 2 Henry IV. See also Ben Jonson's Cynthia's Revels and Bartholomew Fair; and Beaumont and Fletcher's Woman's Hater, prologue: 'Inductions are out of date.' Marston has parodied the line in his Fawne, ii. 1 (Works, ii. 32), quoted by Steevens:

> 'Plots ha you laid? Inductions, dangerous?'

33. *libels*, defamatory writings.

36. *as true and just*, and therefore the less likely to entertain any suspicion of foul play.

38. *mew'd up*, penned up, imprisoned. See l. 132, and Midsummer Night's Dream, i. 1. 71:

> 'For aye to be in shady cloister mew'd.'

A mew or mue was a coop in which fouls were fattened.

39. *a prophecy*. See 3 Henry VI, v. 6. 86, and Heywood, Second part of King Edward the fourth (Works, i. 131–134). 'Some haue reported, that the cause of this noble mans death rose of a foolish prophesie, which was, that after K. Edward one should reigne, whose first letter of his name should be a G. Wherewith the king and queene were sore troubled, and began to conceiue a greeuous grudge against this duke, and could not be in quiet till they had brought him to his end. And as the diuell is woont to incumber the minds of men which delite in such diuelish fantasies, they said afterward, that that prophesie lost not his effect, when after king Edward, Glocester vsurped his kingdome.' (Holinshed, p. 703.) When the lords were executed at Pomfret, 'Sir Thomas Vaughan, goyng to his death sayed, A wo worthe them y^t^ toke the prophesie that G. should destroy

king Edwardes children, meanyng y^t^ by the duke of Clarence lord George which for y^t^ suspicion is now dead, but now remaineth Richard G. duke of Gloucester, which now I se is he y^t^ shall and will accomplishe the prophesie & destroye kynge Edwardes children & all their alyes and frendes.' (Hall, Edward V, p. 364.) Heywood attributes the prophecy to one Friar Anselm of St. Bartholomew's.

41. Stage direction. Enter Clarence, guarded, and Brakenbury. At the time of Edward's death the Marquis of Dorset is said to have been Constable of the Tower (Bayley's History of the Tower of London, i. 64). Sir Robert Brakenbury was not confirmed in his office till March 9, 1483–4, his previous appointment being by letters patent, which dated from July 17, 1483 (Rymer, Fœdera, xii. 219).

43–45. *His majesty. . . . Tower.* As in Pope. The folios print in two lines, the first ending *safety*. In the quartos *His . . . appointed* is one line.

44. *Tendering*, having regard for. See iv. 4. 405.

45. *conduct*, escort. So in Richard II, iv. 1. 157: 'I will be his conduct.' And Romeo and Juliet, iii. 1. 129:

'Away to heaven, respective lenity,
And fire-eyed fury be my conduct now!'

46. *Upon*, in consequence of. See Julius Cæsar, iv. 3. 152: 'Upon what sickness?' And King Lear, ii. 2. 124:

'It pleased the King his master very late
To strike at me, upon his misconstruction.'

47. *Alack*, alas! The etymology is very doubtful. It may be a corruption of 'alas,' or, as Professor Skeat suggests, of 'Ah! Lord' or 'ah! Lord Christ'; or, as he more doubtfully proposes, it may be referred to the Middle English *lak*, which signifies loss, defect.

49. *belike*, probably. See note on Midsummer Night's Dream, i. 1. 130. If 'like' be regarded as an adverb we may perhaps compare the formation of this word with that of 'beyond,' 'beneath.'

54. *hearkens after*, listens to; and so, enquires about. Compare Much Ado, v. 1. 216: 'Hearken after their offence, my lord.' So also 'listen after' is used in the True Tragedie of Richard the Third (Shakespeare's Library, ed. Hazlitt, Part II. vol. i. page 86): 'But hearst thou Catesbie, meane while I will listen after successe of the Duke of Buckinghame.'

55. *the cross-row*, the alphabet. Cotgrave (French Dict) gives, 'Abecé: m. An Abcee, the Crosse-row, an Alphabet, or orderly list, of all the letters.' And again, 'La croix de par Dieu. The Christs-crosse-row, or, the horne-booke wherein a child learns it.' So also in Calfhill's Answer to Martiall (Parker Society), p. 52: 'Adulterous, blasphemous, covetous, desperate, extreme, foolish, gluttons, harlots, ignorants: and so go through the cross row of letters, and truly end it with *Est Amen*.'

58. *for*, because. So in ii. 2. 95, and Midsummer Night's Dream, iv. 1. 187:

'And, for the morning now is something worn,
Our purposed hunting shall be set aside.'

60. *toys*, trifles, idle fancies. Reed quotes Hamlet, i. 4. 75:

'The very place puts toys of desperation,
Without more motive, into every brain.'

See also Hamlet, i. 3. 6.

62. *this it is*, this is the consequence. So Two Gentlemen of Verona, v. 2. 49:

'Why, this it is to be a peevish girl.'

Again, Antony and Cleopatra, ii. 7. 12: 'Why, this it is to have a name in great men's fellowship.'

64. *My Lady Grey*, Elizabeth Woodville, daughter of Richard Woodville, Earl Rivers, and Jacqueline widow of the Duke of Bedford. Her husband, Sir John Grey (called Sir Richard Grey in 3 Henry VI), was killed at the second battle of St. Alban's in 1461, fighting on the Lancastrian side. She married Edward privately on May 1, 1464, being five years his senior. 'This Elizabeth beyng in seruice with quene Margaret wife to kyng Henry the sixte, was maried to one Ihon Grey Esquire whom kyng Henry made knight at the laste battaill of Sainct Albones, but litle while he enioyed his knighthod, for at the same feld he was slain.' (Hall, Edward V, p. 365.)

65. *That tempers him . . . extremity*. This is the reading of the first quarto, and is undoubtedly correct. In the later quartos 'tempers' was corrupted into 'tempts' or 'temps,' and then the folios eked out the line by reading

'That tempts him to this harsh extremity.'

Ib. tempers, moulds, influences. Compare Two Gentlemen of Verona, iii. 2. 64:

'Where you may temper her by your persuasion
To hate young Valentine and love my friend.'

Ib. extremity, extreme measure. So Othello, v. 2. 139:

'O, I were damn'd beneath all depth in hell,
But that I did proceed upon just grounds
To this extremity.'

66. *worship*, rank, dignity. Compare Winter's Tale, i. 2. 314:

'Whom I from meaner form
Have bench'd and rear'd to worship.'

67. *Anthony Woodville*, Earl Rivers, the patron and friend of Caxton. In the Third Part of Henry VI he appears for the first time as Rivers (iv. 4. 2), the title which came to him in 1469, on the death of his father, who was Richard Woodville, the lieutenant of the Tower in the First Part of

Henry VI. In consequence of his marriage with 'the heir and daughter of Lord Scales' (3 Henry VI, iv. 1. 52), Anthony Woodville succeeded to his father-in-law's title. In the folio editions of this play, after ii. 1. 67 is added

'Of you Lord Wooduill, and Lord Scales of you.'

But as Lord Rivers had already been mentioned two lines before, and 'Lord Woodville' and 'Lord Scales' were merely his other titles, the line is properly omitted in the quartos.

68. The histories say nothing directly of the committal of Hastings to the Tower, although it is implied in the narrative of Sir Thomas More, upon which iii. 2. 100, &c. is founded. 'Upon the verie Tower wharfe, so neare the place where his head was off soone after, there met he with one Hastings a purseuant of his owne name. And at their meeting in that place, he was put in remembrance of another time, in which it had happened them before to meet in like manner togither in the same place. At which other time the lord chamberlaine had beene accused vnto King Edward by the Lord Riuers the queenes brother, in such wise, as he was for the while (but it lasted not long) farre fallen into the kings indignation, and in great feare of himselfe.' (Holinshed, p. 723, col. 2.)

74, 75. Of Shore's wife Sir Thomas More says, she never abused the King's favour 'to anie mans hurt, but to manie a mans comfort and releefe. Where the king tooke displeasure, shee would mitigate and appease his mind: where men were out of fauour, she would bring them in his grace.' (Holinshed, p. 725.)

77. *my lord chamberlain.* Soon after his coronation, Edward IV created Sir William Hastings Lord Hastings of Ashby de la Zouch, and appointed him Lord Chamberlain (Stow, Chronicle, ed. 1580, p. 713). He married Warwick's sister, 'and yet was euer true to the King his master' (Holinshed, p. 675).

78. *our way*, our best course, the course for us to take. Compare Comedy of Errors, iv. 3. 93:

'My way is now to hie home to his house.'

81. *o'erworn widow.* At the time the play opens, 1471, the queen was only 34.

82. *dubb'd them gentlewomen.* The queen's kindred were ennobled after her marriage, but they were hardly 'made gentlefolks' (l. 95), for her father was of a good Northamptonshire family, and had been created Baron Rivers in 1448, and Earl Rivers in 1466; and her mother was the Dowager Duchess of Bedford, widow of John Duke of Bedford the brother of Henry V. See 3 Henry VI, iv. 1. 70. Moreover, her first husband, Sir John Grey, was eldest son of Lord Grey, of Groby. Mistress Shore had never any title of rank conferred upon her.

83. *gossips*, a term somewhat of contempt, applied to persons who are on intimate terms and therefore supposed to be possessed of influence with each

other. See Archbishop Trench's English Past and Present, pp. 204–5 (4th ed.), quoted in the note to Midsummer Night's Dream, ii. 1. 47 (Clarendon Press ed.). A gossip or godsib was originally a sponsor.

84. *I beseech.* The metre would be improved by omitting the pronoun, as in The Tempest, ii. 1. 1:

'Beseech you, sir, be merry; you have cause.'

85. The Act for Clarence's attainder was passed in the 17 Edward IV, and on February 8, 1477–8, the Duke of Buckingham was appointed Lord High Steward of England, to see the sentence carried out. Clarence's death was on February 18.

Ib. straitly, strictly. So in iv. 1. 17, and Genesis xliii. 7: 'The man asked us straitly of our state.' And Matthew ix. 30: 'And Jesus straitly charged them, saying, see that no man know it.'

Ib. given in charge, ordered, commanded. See iv. 3. 25, and 1 Henry VI, ii. 31:

'Porter, remember what I gave in charge.'

And The Tempest, v. 1. 8:

'In the same fashion as you gave in charge.'

88. *an 't*, if it. So Pope altered the 'and' or '&' of the folios and quartos. Similarly, in 1 Henry VI, v. 4. 10, the folios have 'and please you,' but in this case Pope merely substitutes 'an' for 'and.' On the other hand, the full form is found in Love's Labour's Lost, v. 2. 584: 'There an 't shall please you.'

89. *partake of*, share; and so, hear. Used absolutely in Coriolanus, iv. 4. 184:

'*Third Serv.* O slaves, I can tell you news,—news, you rascals!'

First and second Serv. What, what, what? Let's partake.'

92. *Well struck in years*, advanced in years. See above, l. 81. Here 'struck' is from the Anglo-Saxon *strícan* to go quickly, run, Early English *striken*. In Laȝamon's Brut, ed. Madden, l. 9318, the earlier version has '& Hamun him to strac,' while the later reads 'Hamund him wende to,' Hamun went towards him. Again, in the Legend of St. Katherine of Alexandria, ed. Morton, l. 2514:

'& strikeð a stream
Ut of þ stanene þurh';

that is, And there runneth forth a stream out of the stone trough. The present participle occurs at l. 733 of the same poem:

'Comen alle strikinde
þe strengeste swiðest';

that is, All come running, the strongest quickest. See also Cockayne's Glossary to the Life of Seinte Marharete (Early English Text Society), p. 109. In the Ormulum, ll. 14804, 14810, 'strac inn' is 'went in.' Hence is derived the substantive 'stroke' in the sense of 'pace,' as in 'a good stroke.' Consequently,

quently, 'well struck' or 'stricken' is 'far advanced.' Compare the Taming of the Shrew, ii. 1. 362:

'Myself am struck in years, I must confess.'

Again, in Sidney's Arcadia, p. 9 (ed. 1598): 'He being already well striken in yeares, maried a young Princesse named Gynecia.' And Grenewey's Annales of Tacitus (ed. 1598), p. 107: 'Dinis, a man stroken in yeares.' Cotgrave (Fr. Dict.), s. v. Aage, gives, 'Avoir de l'aage, to be strong and lustie: also, to be well in yeares, or well stricken in yeares.' Similarly in Sir Thomas More's Utopia (ed. Arber), p. 36, we have 'stricken in age': 'He was of a meane stature, and though stricken in age, yet bare he his bodye vpright.' With this may be compared the phrase 'stepped in years' which occurs in old writers. For instance, in Holland's Pliny, vii. 46: 'Now this Aglaus was a good honest man well stept in yeeres.' And Plutarch's Morals (trans. Holland), p. 389: 'Timotheus and Iphicrates, who were farre stept in yeeres.' Again, North's Plutarch, Theseus and Romulus (ed. 1631), p. 40: 'Againe, being stepped in yeares, and at later age, and past mariage, he stole away Helen in her minority.' When Ben Jonson (Sejanus, iii. 1) wrote,

'Our mother, great Augusta, 's struck with time,'

he probably connected the phrase 'struck in years' with the common verb 'strike,' not knowing its real derivation.

Ib. jealous. The first and second folios make three syllables of the word by printing it 'iealious,' which is the uniform spelling of the word in the first folio of Othello, even where the metre does not require it. For example, iii. 3. 323:

'Trifles light as ayre,
Are to the iealious, confirmations strong,
As proofes of Holy Writ.'

But in l. 81 above, the spelling is as usual. In i. 3. 326 the two late quartos have similarly 'greevious' or 'grevious.'

93. *Shore's wife.* Sir Thomas More, writing in 1513, evidently from personal observation, thus describes her: 'Proper she was & faire: nothing in her body y^t^ you wold haue changed, but if you would haue wished her somewhat higher. Thus say thei y^t^ knew her in her youthe. Albeit some that now se her (for yet she liueth) deme her neuer to haue ben wel visaged. Whose iugement semeth me somwhat like, as though men should gesse ye bewty of one longe before departed, by her scalpe taken out of the charnel house; for now is she old, lene, withered, & dried vp, nothing left but ryuilde skin & hard bone. And yet being euen such: whoso wel aduise her visage, might gesse & deuise which partes how filled wold make it a faire face. Yet delited not men so much in her bewty, as in her pleasant behauiour. For a proper wit had she, & could both rede wel & write, mery in company, redy & quick of aunswer, neither mute nor ful of

bable, sometime taunting w^t^out displesure, & not w^t^out disport.' (Workes, ed. 1557, p. 57.)

97, 98. The difference in spelling between 'nought' and 'naught,' which marks this equivoque, is preserved in the first quarto and the folios, and in many of the other early copies.

99, 100. *He that doth* &c., *Were best he do it* &c. There is first of all a confusion of construction here, the second 'he' being superfluous, and rendering the previous 'He' with its attendant clause a kind of suspended nominative. Further, the expressions 'I were best,' 'thou wert best, 'he were best,' are possibly corruptions of 'me were best' = it were best for me, &c. See notes on The Tempest, i. 2. 367, and Hamlet, ii. 2. 508, in the Clarendon Press editions; and Abbott's Shakespearian Grammar, §§ 230, 352.

103. *I beseech.* See above, l. 84.

106. *abjects*, rightly explained by Monck Mason as 'the most servile of her subjects.' Compare Psalm xxxv. 15: 'The abjects gathered themselves together against me,' that is, the outcasts, the most worthless and despicable of men. So Ben Jonson, Poetaster, i. 1:

'All other objects will but abjects prove.'

In the present passage the accent is on the last syllable.

107. *I will unto the king.* The ellipsis of the verb of motion before a preposition or adverb indicating direction is one of the commonest idioms in Shakespeare. Several instances occur in the present play. See i. 1. 147; i. 4. 148; ii. 4. 66; iii. 2. 32; iii. 5. 106; iv. 4. 6; v. 2. 14; v. 3. 46. Also, Abbott's Shakespearian Grammar, § 405.

109. *King Edward's widow.* So Gloucester contemptuously calls the queen, who was the widow of Sir John Grey.

110. *to enfranchise you*, to set you at liberty. The word 'enfranchise' is still used in a technical sense in reference to copyhold land, or to persons who have no vote as citizens, but in its literal meaning it is not employed, though it frequently occurs in Shakespeare. Compare Two Gentlemen of Verona, iii. 1. 151:

'Silvia, this night I will enfranchise thee.'

Timon of Athens, i. 1. 106:

'Commend me to him: I will send his ransom,
And being enfranchised, bid him come to me.'

Hence 'enfranchisement' signifies 'setting at liberty,' deliverance from prison, in King John, iv. 2. 52:

'Then I . . . . . .
. . . . . heartily request
The enfranchisement of Arthur.'

115. *lie*, with a play upon the two meanings of the word. Reed explains 'lie for you,' be imprisoned in your stead.

116. *patience . . . perforce.* There is here a reference to the old proverb,

Patience perforce is medicine for a mad dog. Compare Romeo and Juliet, i. 5. 91:

'Patience perforce with wilful choler meeting
Makes my flesh tremble in their different greeting.'

117. This part of the scene was probably suggested by the following passage from Sir Thomas More's Life of Richard III (Workes, p. 37): 'Somme wise menne also weene, that his drifte couertly conuayde, lacked not in helping furth his brother of Clarence to his death: whiche hee resisted openly, howbeit somwhat (as menne demed) more faintly then he yᵗ wer hartely minded to his welth. And they that thus deme, think yᵗ he long time in king Edwardes life, forethought to be king in case that yᵉ king his brother (whose life hee looked that euil dyete shoulde shorten) shoulde happen to decease (as indede he did) while his children wer yonge. And thei deme, that for thys intente he was gladde of his brothers death yᵉ Duke of Clarence, whose life must nedes haue hindered hym so entendynge, whither the same Duke of Clarence hadde kepte him true to his Nephew the yonge king, or enterprised to be kyng himselfe.'

122. *Good time of day*, a common mode of salutation (see i. 3. 18, and compare ii. 1. 47; iv. 1. 6), which appears in a fuller form in 2 Henry IV, i. 2. 107: 'God give your lordship good time of day.' Compare also Henry V, v. 2. 3:

'Unto our brother France, and to our sister,
Health and fair time of day.'

131. *prevail'd on*. The same construction is found in Julius Cæsar, ii. 1. 254:

'And could it work so much upon your shape
As it hath much prevail'd on your condition,
I should not know you, Brutus.'

Compare also iii. 4. 63 of the present play.

132. *mew'd*. See above, l. 38.

132, 133. *eagle . . . prey*. The folios read 'Eagles . . . play'; but see i. 3. 71.

137. *fear him*, fear for him, are anxious about him. Compare 1 Henry IV, iv. 1. 24:

'He was much fear'd by his physicians.'

138. *by Saint Paul*, Richard's favourite oath. The folios have 'by S. John.' But see i. 2. 36, 41; i. 3. 45; iii. 4. 78; v. 3. 216.

139. *an evil diet*. The expression is borrowed from Sir T. More (see above, l. 117): 'whose life hee looked that euil dyete shouldes horten.' 'Diet' here denotes generally 'mode of life.'

146. *George*, Duke of Clarence.

Ib. post-horse. Mr. Collier, following the Perkins folio, reads 'post-haste.'

153. *Warwick's youngest daughter*. Anne Neville, betrothed, if not

married, to Edward Prince of Wales, son of Henry VI. In the Third Part of Henry VI, iii. 3. 242, she is wrongly called the eldest:

'I'll join mine eldest daughter and my joy
To him forthwith in holy wedlock bands.'

And again, iv. i. 118:

'Belike the elder; Clarence shall have the younger.'

154. *her husband.* Prince Edward was slain after the battle of Tewkesbury, but the manner of his death is doubtful. The tradition here followed is that handed down by Hall (Chronicle, Edw. IV, p. 301). After the battle the Prince was brought before Edward, and gave a spirited answer to the King's demand. 'At whiche wordes King Edward sayd nothyng, but with his hand thrust hym from hym (or as some say, stroke him with his gauntlet) whom incontinent, they that stode about, whiche were George duke of Clarence, Rychard duke of Gloucester, Thomas Marques Dorset, and William lord Hastynges, sodaynly murthered, & pitiously manquelled.' Polydore Virgil (English History, ed. Ellis, p. 153, Camden Society) writes to the same effect. Clarence is represented as the actual murderer in the present play, i. 4. 56, while in i. 2. 242, Richard takes the guilt upon himself. See 3 Henry VI, v. 5. On the other hand, Buck (History of the Life and Reign of Richard the Third, p. 81) asserts, on the authority of a MS. in Sir Robert Cotton's collection, 'that the Duke of Gloucester onely of all the great persons stood still and drew not his sword.' The author of the contemporary account of the restoration of Edward IV (edited by Mr. Bruce for the Camden Society) leaves the question doubtful, but appears to imply that the prince was killed on the battle-field. 'Edward, called Prince, was taken, fleinge to the towne wards, and slayne, in the fielde' (p. 31). And in Warkworth's Chronicle (ed. Halliwell, p. 18, Camden Society) it is said, 'And ther was slayne in the felde, Prynce Edward, whiche cryede for socoure to his brother-in-lawe the Duke of Clarence.'

Ib. and her father. In the battle of Barnet, where Warwick was slain, Richard commanded the vanguard of his brother's army, but the death of Warwick is attributed to one of Edward's soldiers. 'He lept vpon a horse to flie, and comming into a wood where was no passage, one of king Edwards men came to him, killed him, and spoiled him to the naked skin' (Holinshed, p. 685). See also Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 16.

159. *The which.* See Abbott, § 270.

Ib. not all so much for love. There is good reason however to believe that a strong attachment had existed between Richard and Anne from a very early period. But the discrepancies between the play and the history are all but endless.

158. *another secret close intent,* his designs upon the crown. 'Close' and 'secret' are synonymous. See iv. 2. 25: 'A close exploit of death'; and Macbeth, iii. 5. 7: 'The close contriver of all harms.'

159. *By marrying her . . . reach unto*, that is, 'which I must reach unto by marrying her.' It is not clear how Richard's marriage with Anne could be supposed to favour his plans for obtaining the crown.

Scene II.

This scene is historically impossible. After the battle of Tewkesbury, Lady Anne Neville, who was with Queen Margaret, was kept in concealment by Clarence, until, according to the continuator of the Chronicle of Croyland, she was discovered in London by Richard in the disguise of a kitchen-maid, and was by him conveyed for safety to the sanctuary of St. Martin's. Holinshed's account of the funeral of Henry VI has in other respects been closely followed. 'The dead corps on the Ascension euen was conueied with billes and glaues pompouslie (if you will call that a funerall pompe) from the Tower to the church of Saint Paule, and there laid on a beire or coffen bare faced, the same in presence of the beholders did bleed; where it rested the space of one whole daie. From thense he was caried to the Black-friers, and bled there likewise: and on the next daie after, it was conueied in a boat, without priest or clerke, torch or taper, singing or saieng, vnto the monasterie of Chertseie, distant from London fifteene miles, and there was it first buried: but after, it was remooued to Windesor, and there in a new vawt, newlie intoomed.' (pp. 690, 691.)

Enter . . . Gentlemen with halberds. The quartos and folios have simply 'Halberds,' which means the same thing, as 'ancient' or 'ensign' is 'ensign-bearer,' and 'trumpet' signifies 'trumpeter.'

3. *obsequiously*, as befits funeral obsequies. Compare Hamlet, i. 2. 92:

'Bound
In filial obligation for some term
To do obsequious sorrow.'

And Sonnet xxxi. 5:

'How many a holy and obsequious tear
Hath dear religious love stol'n from mine eye
As interest of the dead!'

5. *key-cold* was used proverbially to denote extreme cold. Compare Heywood, Proverbs and Epigrams (Spenser Soc. ed.) p. 44: 'It grew cold as a Kay.' And Lucrece, 1774:

'And then in key-cold Lucrece' bleeding stream
He falls.'

Also Holland's Pliny, vii. 53: 'In this habite, disguised as he sat, hee was starke dead and keycold before any man perceived it.' Professor Skeat has referred me to Gower's Confessio Amantis, B. vi. (ed. Pauli), vol. iii. p. 9:

'For certes there was never keie
Ne frosen is vpon the walle
More inly cold, than I am alle.'

A common remedy for bleeding of the nose was to put a key down one's back, the coldness of the metal being supposed to check the bleeding.

8. *Be it*, printed as two syllables but pronounced as one, as in l. 21.

Ib. invocate, invoke. The word only occurs twice more in Shakespeare, Sonnet xxxviii. 10:

'Be thou the tenth Muse, ten times more in worth
Than those old nine which rhymers invocate.'

And 1 Henry VI, i. 1. 52:

'Henry the Fifth, thy ghost I invocate.'

16. Omitted in the quartos.

Ib. the blood must here mean the passion or temper, as in Lear, iv. 2. 64:

'Were 't my fitness
To let these hands obey my blood.'

17. *hap*, chance, fortune; Icelandic *happ*. So in Antony and Cleopatra, ii. 3. 32:

'Be it art or hap.
He hath spoken true.'

19. *to adders, spiders*. The folios have 'to wolves, to spiders.' But the next line shews that the quartos have the correct reading.

20. *venom'd*, venomous. So Timon of Athens, iv. 3. 182:

'The gilded newt and eyeless venom'd worm.'

Similarly 'poisoned' is used for 'poisonous' in Lyly's Euphues (ed. Arber), p. 196: 'Nylus breedeth the precious stone and the poysoned serpent.' It is also the reading of all the quartos except the first in i. 3. 246. Compare 'burthen'd' for 'burdensome' in iv. 4. 111.

22. *Prodigious*, monstrous, portentous. Compare Midsummer Night's Dream, v. 1. 419:

'Never mole, hare-lip, nor scar,
Nor mark prodigious, such as are
Despised in nativity.'

Cotgrave (Fr. Dict.) gives: 'Prodigieux . . . Prodigious, wonderous, monstrous, most vnnaturall or out of course.'

23. *aspect* has the accent on the last syllable, as always in Shakespeare. See below, l. 155, and Lucrece, 452:

'Whose grim aspect sets every joint a-shaking.'

25. Omitted in the quartos.

Ib. unhappiness here signifies the active capacity for mischief. Anne wishes that the child which shall succeed to the father's power of doing mischief may be marked at its birth as a monster. The word only occurs once more in Shakespeare and then in the sense of 'mischief-doing.' See Much Ado, ii. 1. 361: 'She hath often dreamed of unhappiness, and waked herself with laughing.'

27. *by the death of him*. Sir W. Blackstone conjectured 'life' for

'death,' because in iv. 1. 76, when Anne repeats the curse which she now dronounces, she says,

'And be thy wife—if any be so mad—
As miserable by the life of thee
As thou hast made me by my dear lord's death!'

But in this passage also the quartos read 'death.'

32. *whiles*, while. See note on Julius Cæsar, i. 2. 209.

36. *Villains.* The folios have the plural, the quartos the singular, 'Villaine.' The latter may perhaps be the true reading, Richard's speech being addressed to the Gentleman in command of the party of halberdiers.

37. Johnson quotes Hamlet, i. 4. 85:

'By heaven, I'll make a ghost of him that lets me!'

40. *Advance*, raise. Compare v. 3. 264; and Coriolanus, i. 6. 61:

'Filling the air with swords advanced and darts.'

Ib. halberd, a kind of pole-axe, or long-handled axe, with a pike attached. In Icelandic *barða* signifies an axe, and Professor Skeat connects the first part of the word with 'helm,' a helve or handle, the form in Middle High German being *helm barte*, *helmbarte*, or *helbarte*. It may be that the Icelandic *barða* is derived from the Middle High German *barta*, a broad axe, and as this in Old High German is *parta*, it is also possible that 'halberd' and 'partisan,' as they denote similar weapons, may be etymologically connected.

42. *spurn upon.* Elsewhere in Shakespeare 'spurn' is followed by 'at' or 'against.' In Gower, Confessio Amantis, Book iv. (ed. Pauli), vol. ii. p. 44, we find the construction 'spurn on':

'So that within a while I gesse
She had on suche a chaunce sporned
That all her mod was overtorned.'

49. *curst*, shrewish, spiteful. See Midsummer Night's Dream, iii. 2. 300:

'I was never curst;
I have no gift at all in shrewishness':

and the note on the passage in the Clarendon Press edition.

52. *exclaims*, exclamations, outcries. So Richard II, i. 2. 2:

'Alas, the part I had in Woodstock's blood
Doth more solicit me than your exclaims.'

In the note on that passage (Clarendon Press ed.) other examples of substantives formed from verbs are given. See also Abbott's Shakesperian Grammar, § 451.

54. *pattern*, example, instance. Compare Othello, v. 2. 11:

'Thou cunning'st pattern of excelling nature.'

And Spenser, Faerie Queene, iv. 6. 24:

'That peerelesse paterne of Dame Natures pride.'

55, 56. The belief that the wounds of a murdered person bled afresh in

the presence of the murderer was once prevalent. Sir Walter Scott makes use of it with striking effect in The Fair Maid of Perth, where the body of Oliver Proudfute is exposed in the church of St. John for the purpose of applying this test for the discovery of his slayer. See also the quotation from Holinshed at the beginning of the scene, and Brand's Popular Antiquities (Bohn's Antiq. Library), iii. 229, where the following passage is quoted from King James's Dæmonology, p. 136: 'In a secret murther, if the dead carkasse be at any time thereafter handled by the murtherer, it will gush out of blood, as if the blood were crying to heaven for the revenge of the murtherer.'

58. *exhales*, draws forth. See 166. Shakespeare always uses the word in this sense, as when he speaks of 'some meteor that the sun exhales' (Romeo and Juliet, iii. 5. 13), connecting the latter part of the word with the English 'hale' and not with the Latin *halare* to breathe. In the inflated language of Pistol, Henry V, ii. 1. 66, 'exhale' is simply 'draw':

> 'The grave doth gape and doting death is near;
> Therefore exhale.'

60, 61. *deed . . . Provokes.* So the quartos, and rightly. The first three folios have *deeds . . . Provokes.* 'Provokes,' however, is not a plural in 's' but the result of a printer's error.

64. *Either*, a monosyllable, as in iv. 4. 182, and Julius Cæsar, iv. 1. 23:

> 'Either led or driven, as we point the way.'

See Abbott, § 466, for examples of other words similarly contracted.

65. *quick*, alive. There is probably a reference here to Numbers xvi. 30: 'But if the Lord make a new thing, and the earth open her mouth, and swallow them up, with all that appertain unto them, and they go down quick into the pit; then ye shall understand that those men have provoked the Lord.'

67. *butchered.* It is worth while to draw attention, once for all, to the unusual number of instances in this play in which the participial termination '-ed' is accentuated.

71. *No beast.* For examples of the ellipsis of 'there is,' see i. 3. 186, ii. 1. 84, and Coriolanus, ii. 3. 170:

> 'Not one amongst us, save yourself, but says
> He used us scornfully.'

Ib. touch, delicate feeling. Compare Two Gentlemen of Verona, ii. 7. 18:

> 'Didst thou but know the inly touch of love.'

And The Tempest, v. 1. 21:

> 'Hast thou, which art but air, a touch, a feeling
> Of their afflictions?'

76. *evils.* The folios have 'crimes'; but see l. 79.

77. *By circumstance*, by an elaborate and detailed argument. Compare The Merchant of Venice, i. 1. 154:

'You know me well, and herein spend but time
To wind about my love with circumstance.'

78. *defused infection* is a phrase coined to match 'divine perfection,' and the play upon words was more aimed at by the writer than their appropriateness. 'Defused' is properly 'disordered,' and must here mean 'shapeless.' Compare Armin's Nest of Ninnies, p. 6 (Shaksp. Soc. ed.): 'It is hard that the taste of one apple should distaste the whole lump of this defused chaios.' See also note on Lear, i. 4. 2 (Clarendon Press ed.).

84. *current*, so as to be accepted as genuine.

92. *by Edward's hand.* In the Third Part of Henry VI, v. 5, Edward, Clarence, and Richard all stab the young prince.

95, 96. *The which . . . point.* See 3 Henry VI, v. 5. 41–43.

95. *bend*, aim, direct, point. From the bow, which is bent in preparing to shoot, the word 'bend' is applied to other weapons. Compare Lear, iv. 2. 74:

'Bending his sword
To his great master';

that is, pointing his sword against him. Again, 3 Henry VI, v. 1. 87:

'To bend the fatal instruments of war
Against his brother and his lawful king.'

And King John, ii. 1. 37:

'Our cannon shall be bent
Against the brows of this resisting town.'

Also, Stow's Annals (ed. 1580), p. 1082: 'Which thing was no sooner knowne to the Lieutenant, but that euen the same night, and the next morning, he bent seauen great peeces of Ordinance Culuerings, and Demi Canons, full against the foote of the Bridge.'

101. *Didst thou not kill this king?* Sir Thomas More gives the tradition current in his time. 'He slewe with his owne handes king Henry the sixt, being prisoner in the Tower, as menne constantly saye, and that without commaundemente or knoweledge of the king, whiche woulde vndoubtedly yf he had entended that thinge, haue appointed that boccherly office, to some other then his owne borne brother.' (Workes, p. 37.)

107. *holp*, helped; A.S. *healp*. This form, both of the preterite and the participle, is the more common in Shakespeare. See iv. 4. 45, and Coriolanus, v. 3. 63, 'I holp to frame thee,' with the note on this passage in the Clarendon Press edition. Pope altered it to 'help'd' and we find this form also in v. 3. 167.

117. *timeless*, untimely. So in 3 Henry VI, v. 6. 42;

'Men for their sons, wives for their husbands,
And orphans for their parents' timeless death.'

It appears to have been a favourite word with Shakespeare in his early days, for it occurs in Lucrece and in those plays which must be referred to this first period of his career:

120. *effect* is explained by Dr. Schmidt in his Shakespeare Lexicon as the abstract used for the concrete, as if it signified 'efficient cause.' It is difficult in such a quibbling dialogue to attach very strict meanings to the words employed. 'Cause and effect' would seem to be used as a comprehensive phrase to denote the whole of any action from beginning to end, and Anne perhaps means to imply that the murder of Henry and his son was altogether the work of Richard, who was both prompter and executioner. We have other instances of this play upon words in Hamlet, ii. 2. 101–103:

'And now remains
That we find out the cause of this effect,
Or rather say, the cause of this defect,
For this effect defective comes by cause.'

And 2 Henry IV, i. 2. 133: 'I have read the cause of his effects in Galen.'

124. *live.* The quartos have 'rest,' but the play upon words between 'live' and 'death' in the preceding line is more in the manner of this dialogue.

126. *rend.* The reading of the quartos. The folios have 'rent,' which is the frequent form of the word in the Authorised Version of 1611, although in modern editions it is only found in Jeremiah iv. 30: 'Though thou rentest thy face with painting.' It occurs several times in Shakespeare, as for instance in Midsummer Night's Dream, iii. 2. 215:

'And will you rent our ancient love asunder?'

144. She spitteth at him. The folios have 'Spits at him,' while the quartos omit the stage-direction.

150. *basilisks.* The glance of the basilisk's eye was supposed to be deadly. Compare Cymbeline, ii. 4. 107:

'It is a basilisk unto mine eye,
Kills me to look on't.'

3 Henry VI, iii. 2. 187:

'I'll slay more gazers than the basilisk.'

See also 2 Henry VI, ii. 3. 51–53. The basilisk, or cockatrice, is a fabulous creature of which many marvellous stories are told. The name 'cockatrice' is probably a corruption of 'crocodile,' through Fr. *cocatrix*, Span. *cocatriz*, but an explanation of the origin of the animal was invented in order to account for the name. 'There is some question amongst Writers, about the generation of this Serpent: for some (and those very many and learned) affirm him to be brought forth of a Cocks Egge . . . which Egge . . . afterward set upon by a Snake or a Toad, bringeth forth the Cockatrice, being half a foot in length, the hinderpart like a Snake, the former part like a Cock, because of a treble combe on his fore-head . . . Among all living creatures, there is none that perisheth sooner then doth a man by the poyson of a Cockatrice, for with his sight he killeth him, because the beams of the Cockatrices eyes, do corrupt the visible spirit of a man, which visible spirit corrupted, all the other spirits coming from the

brain and life of the heart, are thereby corrupted, and so the man dyeth.' (Topsell, History of Serpents, ed. 1658, pp. 677, 681.)

155–166. *These eyes . . . weeping.* This passage only occurs in the folios, and was perhaps added by Shakespeare to the original draft of the play.

155. Compare 3 Henry VI, ii. 1. 79, 80, where Richard, after hearing the news of the slaughter of his father and brother, exclaims:

'I cannot weep; for all my body's moisture
Scarce serves to quench my furnace-burning heart.'

In the same scene the news is announced not by Warwick, as here represented, but by a messenger.

156. *No*, altered by Pope to 'Not.' But 'no' is frequently found for 'not' in such phrases as 'whether he will or no' (see iii. 1. 23). Compare also Comedy of Errors, i. 1. 155:

'Beg thou, or borrow, to make up the sum,
And live; if no, then thou art doom'd to die.'

162. *That*, so that. See Julius Cæsar, i. 1. 50:

'Have you not made an universal shout,
That Tiber trembled underneath her banks?'

165. *exhale.* See above, l. 58.

168. *smoothing*, flattering. See i. 3. 48. The quartos here have 'soothing,' which is used in the same sense. Compare i. 3. 298, and Coriolanus, ii. 2. 77: 'You soothed not, therefore hurt not.' In Bunyan's Holy War, Mrs. Soothe up is the wife of Mr. Flatter.

178. *the death*, used technically for a judicial punishment, as in Henry V, iv. 1. 181: 'When they have feared the death, they have borne life away.'

179, 181. *for I did kill King Henry . . . 'twas I that stabb'd young Edward.* This is the reading of the folios. The quartos have, ''twas I that kild your husband . . . t'was I that kild King Henry.'

187. *Tush.* See i. 3. 350.

202. Anne. *To take is not to give.* Omitted in the folios, probably by a printer's error. Oechelhäuser thinks that it was deliberately left out by the author for æsthetic reasons.

203. *this ring.* So the quartos. The folios have 'my ring.'

206. *suppliant.* So the quartos. The folios read 'servant.'

212. *presently*, at once, instantly. In Matthew xxi. 19, 'presently' is the rendering of the Greek παραχρῆμα, which is elsewhere 'straightway' or 'immediately.'

Ib. Crosby Place. In the folios it is called 'Crosby House, as in Heywood's First part of king Edward the Fourth (Works, i. 57):

'Likewise, in memory of me, John Crosbie,
In Bishopsgate Street, a poore House haue I built,
And as my name haue call'd it Crosbie House.'

In his account of the parish of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, Stow (Survey of

London, ed. Thoms, p. 65) says: 'Then have you one great house called Crosby place, because the same was built by Sir John Crosby, grocer and woolman, in place of certain tenements, with their appurtenances, letten to him by Alice Ashfed, prioress of St. Helen's, and the convent for ninety-nine years from the year 1466 unto the year 1565, for the annual rent of 11*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* This house he built of stone and timber, very large and beautiful, and the highest at that time in London. He was one of the sheriffs, and an alderman in the year 1470, knighted by Edward IV. in the year 1471, and deceased in the year 1475 . . . Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and lord protector, afterward king, by the name of Richard III., was lodged in this house.' At the time at which the play opens Sir John Crosby was still living in his own house. After various vicissitudes of fortune, during which it was used as a Presbyterian meeting-house and a packer's warehouse, the fine hall of Crosby Place has been in recent times restored, and is an interesting example of the architecture of the period at which it was built. Sir Thomas More once had the lease of Crosby Place, and after his death his daughter, Margaret Roper, lived there with her husband. There seems to be no reason why the folios should in two passages read 'Crosby house' and in the third (i. 3. 345) 'Crosby place.' Both More and Hall call it 'Crosbies place in Bishops gates strete wher the protectour kept his household' (More, Workes, p. 53).

215. *Wet*, wetted. See note on i. 4. 181.

216. *expedient*, expeditious. Compare King John, ii. 1. 60:

'His marches are expedient to this town.'

219. *joys*, rejoices, gladdens. So in Pericles, i. 2. 9:

'Yet neither pleasure's art can joy my spirits.'

221. *Tressel and Berkeley.* It is not known who these gentlemen were. Mr. G. R. French, in his Shakespeareana Genealogica, p. 251, conjectures that Tressel may be a misprint for Trussel, the name of an old Warwickshire family, and that Berkeley may have been one of the sons of James sixth Lord Berkeley. More probably the names were the writer's own invention.

226. *White-Friars.* According to Holinshed the body of Henry was taken from St. Paul's to the Black-Friars.

235. *nothing.* The folios have 'no Friends,' and 'withall' for 'at all,' probably to avoid the repetition of 'nothing' two lines below. Delius, who holds that the quarto text is the work of an anonymous corrector of the original which exists substantially in the folios, accounts for the alteration by supposing that he did not understand the meaning of 'withal.' The accent on 'nothing' is here on the second syllable, as in Cymbeline, iv. 4. 15:

'This, is, sir, a doubt
In such a time nothing becoming you.'

240. *some three months since.* Three weeks would have been nearer the mark. The battle of Tewkesbury was fought on the 4th of May 1471, and Henry's body was taken to Chertsey on Ascension Day, May 23.

242. Hall (Chronicle, Edward IV, p. 301) describes Prince Edward as 'a goodly femenine & a wel feautered yonge gentleman,' which Holinshed (p. 688) changes to 'a faire and well proportioned yoong gentleman.'

244. *and, no doubt, right royal.* It is hard to believe that this is what Shakespeare wrote. Johnson conjectured 'loyal.' Steevens suggests that there is an ironical allusion to the doubt which was supposed to rest upon Prince Edward's legitimacy. See Fabyan's Chronicle (ed. Ellis), p. 628.

246. *debase*, lower. The folios read 'abase.'

247. *the golden prime*, or sunny spring-time of life. See v. 3. 119, and compare 3 Henry VI, ii. 1. 23:

'How well resembles it the prime of youth!'

And Sonnet iii. 10:

'Thou art thy mother's glass, and she in thee
Calls back the lovely April of her prime:
So thou through windows of thine age shall see
Despite of wrinkles this thy golden time.'

249. *not equals.* See Abbott, § 305, and The Tempest, v. 1. 38: 'Whereof the ewe not bites.'

Ib: moiety. A disyllable both in the quartos 'moity,' and in the folios 'moytie.'

250. *halt.* See i. 1. 23.

Ib. unshapen. The folios read 'mishapen.'

251. *My dukedom*, &c. Compare l. 237 above.

Ib. a beggarly denier. The smallest possible coin, such as would be given to a beggar. Compare 1 Henry IV, iii. 3. 91: 'I'll not pay a denier.' Cotgrave has 'Denier; m. A pennie, a deneere; a small copper coyne valued at the tenth part of an English pennie.'

254. *proper*, handsome, good-looking. See Hebrews xi. 23, 'Moses ... was hid three months of his parents, because they saw that he was a proper child.' And Othello, iv. 3. 35:

'*Des.* This Lodovico is a proper man.
Emil. A very handsome man.'

255. *at charges for*, at the expense of. Baret, Alvearie, has, 'To be at part of the charges. In partem impensae venire.' Compare Acts xxi. 24: 'Them take, and purify thyself with them, and be at charges with them'; that is, lay out money upon them, or as Tyndale expresses it, 'do cost on them.' And 1 Corinthians ix. 7: 'Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges?'

256. *entertain*, engage, employ. Compare i. 4. 129, and Julius Cæsar, v. 5. 60:

'All that served Brutus, I will entertain them.'

And Much Ado, i. 3. 60: 'Being entertained for a perfumer'; that is, engaged as a perfumer.

260. *in*, into. See. iv. 4. 23.

Scene III.

The palace. The scene is laid in the palace at Westminster, which formerly stood on the south side of Westminster Hall. 'This hath been,' says Stow, 'the principal seat and palace of all the kings of England since the Conquest; for here have they in the great hall kept their feasts of coronation especially, and other solemn feasts, as at Christmas and such like, most commonly . . . A great part of this palace at Westminster was once again burnt in the year 1512, the 4th of Henry VIII.; since the which time it hath not been re-edified.' (Survey of London, ed. Thoms, pp. 172, 174.)

Enter Queen Elizabeth. The folios have 'Enter the Queene Mother.' The quartos 'Enter Queene.' Lord Grey was properly only Sir Richard Grey, the youngest son of the queen by her first husband, Sir John Grey (French, Shakespeareana Genealogica, p. 225). But he is called 'Lord Richard Graye' by Sir Thomas More, and by Hall 'the lord Richard.' See ii. 1. 66. The date of the Scene is April 1483.

5. *quick*, lively, sprightly. Compare Two Gentlemen of Verona, iii. 1. 91:

'Dumb jewels often in their silent kind
More than quick words do move a woman's mind.'

6. *betide* is here used loosely for 'become.' It properly means 'to happen, come to pass,' and is sometimes followed by 'to' and sometimes used without any preposition. For 'of' the folios have 'on.'

12. According to Polydore Vergil (Historie of England, ed. Ellis, p. 171, Camden Society), Edward IV 'made his Will, wherin he constitutyd his soones his heyres; whom he comyttyd to the tuytion of Rycherd his brother, duke of Glocester.'

13. *nor none.* See iv. 4. 459. For the double negative compare Sonnet cxvi. 14:

'I never writ, nor no man ever loved.'

15. *It is determined, not concluded yet.* It is resolved upon, though no formal record of the fact has been made. At Trinity College, Cambridge, the book in which official entries are made of the decisions of the Master and Seniors is called the Conclusion Book.

16. *if the king miscarry*, if anything happen to, or go wrong with the king; used euphemistically. See v. 1. 5, and compare Twelfth Night, iii. 4. 70: 'I would not have him miscarry for the half of my dowry.' And 2 Henry IV, iv. 1. 129:

'All their lives
That by indictment and by dint of sword
Have since miscarried under Bolingbroke.'

16. Stage direction. Enter Buckingham and Derby. Thomas Lord Stanley was not created Earl of Derby till after the battle of Bosworth Field, when on Oct. 27, 1485, he was made, by Henry VII, Earl of Derby and

Lord High Steward. In the present play he is called sometimes Lord Stanley and sometimes Derby, but as the variations occur in the old copies no attempt has been made to correct them. Theobald substituted 'Stanley' for 'Derby' throughout.

18. *Good time of day.* See i. 1. 122.

19. *majesty*, used here as a disyllable.

20. *The Countess Richmond*, better known as the Lady Margaret, was mother of Henry VII, and daughter of John Beaufort, first duke of Somerset, the grandson of John of Gaunt. She married first Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, the half brother of Henry VI, being the son of Catharine of Valois by her marriage with Owen ap Meredith ap Tudor. Edmund Tudor died Nov. 3, 1456, before the birth of his son, who was born at Pembroke Castle January 28, 1456–7. Shortly after his death the Countess married Lord Henry Stafford, son of Humphrey, first duke of Buckingham, and therefore uncle of Henry Duke of Buckingham who appears in this play. Lord (or Sir) Henry Stafford died probably in 1482, and his widow soon after went through the form of marriage with Thomas Lord Stanley, a widower with a daughter and three sons, the eldest of whom was the George Stanley of the play. She died July 3, 1509, surviving her husband and her son, and is buried in Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster.

25. *not believe.* See i. 2. 249.

27. *in true report.* So the quartos: the folios read 'on.' Compare 2 Henry VI, iii. 2. 257: 'In pain of your dislike or pain of death.' And Coriolanus, iii. 3. 102: 'In peril of precipitation, &c.'

31. *But now*, just now. Compare The Merchant of Venice, iii. 2. 169, 171:

> 'But now I was the lord
> Of this fair mansion, master of my servants,
> Queen o'er myself; and even now, but now,
> This house, these servants and this same myself
> Are yours, my lord.'

35. *confer*, discourse, talk.

36. *Madam, we did.* So the quartos. The folios read 'I (= Ay) Madam,' for the sake of the metre.

Ib. atonement, reconciliation. Compare 2 Henry IV, iv. 1. 221:

> 'If we do now make our atonement well,
> Our peace will, like a broken limb united,
> Grow stronger for the breaking.'

Sir Thomas More (Life of Richard III, Workes, p. 41) uses the same expression with reference to the queen's kindred: 'Hauying more regarde to their olde variaunce, than their newe attonement.' See note on 'atone' in Richard II, i. 1. 202.

37. *Betwixt*, here and elsewhere in the quartos, is changed in the folios to 'between.'

Ib. the Duke of Gloucester. Richard is directly charged by Sir Thomas More (Workes, p. 38) with fomenting the quarrels with the queen's family: 'And for as muche as hee well wiste and holpe to mayntayn, a long continued grudge and hearte brennynge betwene the Quenes kinred and the kinges blood eyther partye enuying others authoritye, he nowe thought that their deuision shoulde bee (as it was indede) a fortherlye begynnynge to the pursuite of his intente.'

38. Compare More (Workes, p. 38): 'He called some of them before him that were at variaunce, and in especyall the Lorde Marques Dorsette the Quenes sonne by her fyrste housebande, and Richarde the Lorde Hastynges, a noble man, than lorde chaumberlayne agayne whome the Quene specially grudged, for ye great fauoure the kyng bare hym, and also for that shee thoughte hym secretelye familyer with the kynge in wanton coumpanye. Her kynred also bare hym sore, as well for that the kynge hadde made hym captayne of Calyce . . . as for diuerse other greate giftes whiche hee receyued, y^t^ they loked for.'

39. *to warn*, to summon. See Julius Cæsar, v. 1. 5:

'They mean to warn us at Philippi here.'

41. *highest.* Altered in the folios to 'height.'

45. *By holy Paul.* See i. 1. 138.

47. *speak fair* was apparently considered to be too little different from 'flatter,' and was therefore altered in the folios to 'looke faire.'

48. *smooth*, cajole. So in Titus Andronicus, v. 2. 140:

'Yield to his humour, smooth and speak him fair.'

Ib. cog, cheat. See note on Coriolanus, iii. 2. 133.

49. *French nods.* There are many allusions in the literature of Shakespeare's time to the affectation of imitating foreign manners and habits. Mercutio, while he addresses Romeo with 'Signor Romeo, bon jour! there's a French salutation to your French slop,' has no terms to express his contempt of 'such antic, lisping, affecting fantasticoes' (Romeo and Juliet, ii. 4). Steevens quotes from Churchyard, A tragical Discourse of the Haplesse Mans Life, 1593:

'We make a legge, and kisse the hand withall,
(A *French* deuice, nay sure a Spanish tricke)
And speake in print, and say loe at your call
I will remaine your owne bothe dead and quicke.
A courtier so can giue a lobbe a licke,
And dress a dolt in motley for a while,
And so in sleeue at silly woodcocke smile.'

53. *Jacks*, used contemptuously for low-born fellows, base rogues. See l. 73, and compare 1 Henry IV, iii. 3. 99: 'How! the prince is a Jack, a sneak-cup'; and Much Ado, v. i. 91:

'Boys, apes, braggarts, Jacks, milksops!'

54. *To whom.* The first folio reads 'To who,' as in Othello, i. 2. 52:

'*Iago.* He's married.
Cas. To who?'

Ib. in all this presence, in all this assembled company; generally used of the persons attending on royalty. See ii. 1. 58, 78, 84, &c.

58. *person.* So the quartos. The folios have 'grace.'

60. *Cannot . . . scarce.* An instance of the double negative, which is perhaps due to the adverb being separated from the verb.

61. *lewd,* base, vile. In Anglo-Saxon *lǽwed* signifies 'lay,' and *þæt lǽwede folc* means the laity as opposed to the clergy. Hence it came to signify rude, uninstructed, and so, basé, low, vulgar. See Professor Skeat's Etymological Dictionary, and Archbishop Trench's Select Glossary. In Acts xvii. 5, 'certain *lewd* fellows of the baser sort,' the word is simply the rendering of the Greek πονηρούς, wicked.

64. *by any suitor else.* Of course 'else' is superfluous, as in Macbeth v. 8. 4:

'Of all men else I have avoided thee.'

The construction may be compared with that in the well-known lines of Milton, Par. Lost, iv. 323, 324:

'Adam the goodliest man of men since born
His sons; the fairest of her daughters Eve.'

Professor Masson in his note on that passage refers to Par. Lost, ii. 678, 679, for a similar instance:

'God and his Son except,
Created thing naught valued he nor shunned.'

65. *belike.* See i. 1. 49.

67. *kindred.* So the quartos. The folios read 'children,' that is, the Marquis of Dorset and Lord Grey, the queen's children by her first husband.

Ib. brothers. Pope reads 'brother,' because the only one mentioned in this play is Earl Rivers. But the first Earl Rivers, Elizabeth's father, had seven sons and six daughters.

68. *Makes him to send.* The grammar is hopelessly wrong, though the sense is clear. It is as if 'his own royal disposition' were the subject of the sentence instead of 'The king.' Hanmer and Capell read 'Hath sent for you.'

69. *and to remove it.* The reading of the quartos, which Capell changes to 'And so remove it.' The folios read

'Makes him to send that he may learne the ground,'

omitting line 69 altogether. The quarto reading is an instance of the construction, by which, when two infinitives depend upon an auxiliary verb, the second is often preceded by 'to.' Compare Cymbeline, iii. 2. 64–66:

'How we may steal from hence, and from the gap
That we shall make in time, from our hencegoing
And our return, to excuse.'

Again, in the Prayer Book Version of Psalm lxix. 26: 'Let their habitation be void: and no man to dwell in their tents.' And Psalm lxxviii. 8: 'That they might put their trust in God: and not to forget the wofks of God.'

70. *I cannot tell,* I know not what to say. Compare Coriolanus, v. 6. 15:

> '*Sec. Con.* If you do hold the same intent wherein
> You wish'd us parties, we 'll deliver you
> Of your great danger.
> *Auf.* Sir, I cannot tell:
> We must proceed as we do find the people.'

71. *make prey.* See iii. 5. 84. 'Make' is frequently joined with a substantive so as to be equivalent to the cognate verb. So 'make pursuit' = pursue, iii. 2. 30; 'make abode' = abide, Two Gentleman of Verona, iv. 3. 23; 'make answer' = answer, King John ii. 1. 121; 'make thought' = think, Othello, i. 3. 26; 'make prepare' = prepare, 3 Henry VI, iv. 1. 131.

80. *whilst many fair promotions.* The reading of the quartos, altered in the folios for the sake of the metre to 'while great promotions.'

82. *a noble.* A very obvious pun, to which a worthy parallel may be found in 1 Henry VI, v. 4. 23:

> '*Puc.* Peasant, avaunt! You have suborn'd this man
> Of purpose to obscure my noble birth.
> *Shep.* 'Tis true I gave a noble to the priest
> The morn that I was wedded to her mother.'

83. *careful,* full of care, anxious. Compare Richard II, ii. 2. 75:

> 'O, full of careful business are his looks!'

84. *hap.* See i. 2. 17.

89. *in,* into. See i. 2. 260.

Ib. suspects, suspicions. See iii. 5. 32, and Sonnet lxx. 13:

> 'If some suspect of ill mask'd not thy show.'

90. *deny . . . not.* Another instance of the double negative noted above, l. 60, where the negative is added to a word which itself contains a negation. Compare Comedy of Errors, iv. 2. 7:

> 'First he denied you had in him no right.'

Ib. cause. So the quartos. The folios read 'meane.'

98. *marry,* originally an oath by the Virgin Mary, is used in strengthening affirmations. See note on Julius Cæsar, i. 2. 229.

102. *I wis,* certainly, from the A.S. *gewis,* certain (Comp. Germ. *gewiss*), and not from *I wisse,* I teach. See The Merchant of Venice, ii. 9. 68:

> 'There be fools alive, I wis.'

Ib. worser. For instances of this double comparative see The Tempest, i. 2. 439, iv. 1. 27, and notes. Also Abbott, § 11.

106. *With.* So the quartos. The folios read 'Of.' For the latter construction compare Winter's Tale, ii. 2. 48:

'I'll presently
Acquaint the queen of your most noble offer.'

109. *thus taunted . . . at.* So the quartos. The folios read 'so baited, scorn'd, and stormed at.'

Ib. Stage direction. The folios have 'Enter old Queene Margaret.'

113. *What!* In the folios there is a note of interrogation, which commonly does duty for one of exclamation. Taking 'What' in the sense of 'Why' we might dispense with any punctuation after it.

114. *Tell . . . said.* This line is omitted in the folios, probably by the carelessness of the printer.

121. *or your husband king.* In 1460, when Edward first became king, Richard was eight years old; but the dramatist has disregarded the facts of history throughout the play.

122. *a packhorse*, a drudge, with a reference perhaps to the proverb recorded by Heywood (Spenser Soc. ed.) p. 34:

'Whan ought was to doo, I was common hackney,
Folke call on the horse that will cary alwey.'

125. *royalise.* This is the only instance given by Johnson. Florio (A Worlde of Wordes, 1598) has, 'Realizzare, to royalize or make kinglie.'

128. *Were factious for the house of Lancaster.* In the Third Part of Henry the Sixth, the queen's first husband, Sir John Grey (there called Sir Richard), is represented as having fallen 'in quarrel of the house of York' (iii. 2. 6). The error occurs in The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, the original of the Third Part of Henry VI. Sir John Grey commanded Margaret's cavalry.

130. *In Margaret's battle at St. Alban's.* The second battle of St. Alban's, which was fought on Shrove Tuesday, February 17, 1461. It is called 'Margaret's battle' because she was victorious in it, to distinguish it from the first battle, fought on Thursday, May 22, 1455, in which Henry was defeated. Ritson says 'Margaret's battle' means 'Margaret's army.' No doubt there are plenty of instances in which 'battle' signifies 'army,' but this is not one.

135. *Poor Clarence did forsake his father, Warwick.* See 3 Henry VI, v. i. 81, &c., and Hall's Chronicle, Edward IV, p. 293. Clarence was Warwick's son-in-law, having married his elder daughter, Isabel.

138. *on Edward's party*, or side. See iii. 2. 47, iv. 4. 528, and King John, i. 1. 34:

'Till she had kindled France and all the world,
Upon the right and party of her son.'

139. *meed*, reward (A.S. *méd*). See i. 4. 223, 278.

Ib. mew'd. See i. 1. 38. The pun is exceedingly bad, though perhaps not worse than those which abound in the three parts of Henry the Sixth.

144. *cacodemon*, evil demon, evil spirit. The word occurs nowhere else

in Shakespeare, and savours rather of a playwright who had been to the University. It had made its way into Italian. Florio (A Worlde of Wordes, 1598) gives, 'Cacodemone, an euill spirit or diuell.' It appears also to have been used in the language of astrology. See Beaumont and Fletcher, The Bloody Brother, iv. 2:

'The sun and *Mercury*,
Mars with the *Dragon's tail* in the third house,
And *pars Fortunæ* in the *Imo Cœli*,
Then *Jupiter* in the twelfth, the *Cacodemon*.'

147. *lawful.* The reading of the quartos. The folios have 'Soueraigne.'

155. *As little joy.* So Dyce. The quartos and folios read 'A little,' Mr. Grant White has 'And little.'

157. *patient.* A trisyllable. Compare l. 248.

158. *Hear me, &c.* Two distinguished commentators appear to have been very differently affected by this part of the play. On the one hand, Warburton says: 'This scene of Margaret's imprecations is fine and artful. She prepares the audience, like another Cassandra, for the following tragic revolutions.' Steevens, on the contrary, observes with great justice: 'Surely the merits of this scene are insufficient to excuse its improbability. Margaret bullying the court of England in the royal palace is a circumstance as absurd as the courtship of Gloster in a publick street.' But the extravagance of the situation is in harmony with the exaggeration of the principal character. If we once accept Richard as a reality, nothing else in the play is out of proportion. In his world such things would not appear incongruous.

159. *sharing*, dividing into shares. 'To share,' in modern language, signifies to have as a share or portion. For the earlier and literal (A. S. *sceran*, to divide) sense compare Timon of Athens, iv. 2. 23:

'The latest of my wealth I'll share amongst you.'

So also 1 Henry IV, ii. 2. 104: 'Come, my masters, let us share, and then to horse before day.'

Ib. pill'd, pillaged, plundered. 'To pill' is properly to strip, and is familiar in the form 'peel.' Compare Richard II, ii. 1. 246:

'The commons hath he pill'd with grievous taxes.'

And Hall, Edward IV, p. 302: 'But what soeuer their outward wordes were, their inward cogitacions were onlye hope of spoyle, and desyre to robbe and pyll.'

161. *If not, that, I being queen, &c.* So the quartos. In the folios it is altered to 'If not that I am queen, &c.' In either case the sense is quite clear, although the construction is imperfect.

163. *O gentle villain.* This evidently ironical expression is taken quite literally by Johnson, who explains 'gentle' as highborn, and observes that 'an opposition is meant between that and *villain*, which means at once a *wicked* and a *low-born wretch*.'

164. *what makest thou?* what dost thou? Compare Hamlet, i. 2. 164:

'And what make you from Wittenberg, Horatio?'

The temptation to pun upon 'make' and 'mar' seems to have been irresistible. Compare Love's Labour's Lost, iv. 3. 190–192:

'*King.* What makes treason here?

Cost. Nay, it makes nothing, sir.

King. If it mar nothing neither,

The treason and you go in peace away together.'

And As You Like it, i. 1. 31–34 (26–29 Clar. Press ed.).

167–169. Glou. *Wert thou . . . abode.* These lines are omitted in the quartos. They connect the play with the end of 3 Henry VI, but otherwise are not essential.

167. *banished on pain of death.* After the battle of Tewkesbury Margaret fled to a religious house, where she was found by Edward's troops and taken to the Tower. 'Quene Margaret lyke a prisoner was brought to London, where she remayned tyll King Reiner her father raunsomed her with money, which summe (as the French writers afferme) he borowed of kyng Lewes ye xi. . . . . After the raunsom payed, she was conueyed into Fraunce with smal honor, which with so great triumphe and honorable enterteynment was w^t^ pompe aboue all pryde, receyued into this Realme .xxviii. yeres before.' Hall, Edward IV, p. 301. According to this statement the date of Margaret's release would be 1473, but the true date is Nov. 13, 1475. She died in 1482, and therefore before the time of Act iv, Scene 4.

174–180. *The curse,* &c. Compare 3 Henry VI, i. 4.

176. *scorn.* So the quartos. The folios have the plural, but the singular is less dissonant in a line alr ady abounding in sibilants. Otherwise 'scorns,' in the sense of scoffs, expressions of scorn, has plenty of authority. Compare Hamlet, iii. 1. 70:

'For who would bear the whips and scorns of time?'

And Othello, iv. 1. 83:

'And mark the fleers, the gibes, and notable scorns.'

181. *plagued,* punished. Compare Richard II, iii. 1. 34

'My comfort is that heaven will take our souls

And plague injustice with the pains of hell.'

Steevens says, 'To plague, in ancient language, is to punish. Hence the scriptural term—the plagues of Egypt.' But the verb is rather derived from the substantive than the contrary.

182. *So just is God, to right the innocent.* Ritson quotes from the play of Thomas, Lord Cromwell (1602),

'How just is God, to right the innocent.'

The author of Thomas Lord Cromwell must have copied from our play or repeated himself.

183. *that babe.* Edmund earl of Rutland is described as 'sceace of ye age

of .xii. yeres' in Hall (Chronicle, p. 251). But he was older than both Clarence and Richard.

186. *No man but prophesied.* See note on i. 2. 71.

187. *Northumberland.* See 3 Henry VI, i. 4. 150.

194. *Could all but answer*, that is, were able when all put together only to answer. Mason's conjecture of 'not' for 'but' is unnecessary.

Ib. peevish brat. For 'peevish' in the sense of 'childish, silly,' see iv. 2. 101. It is used contemptuously, as in As You Like It, iii. 5. 110:

'Tis but a peevish boy; yet he talks well.'

Compare Gosson's School of Abuse (ed. Arber), p. 27: 'We haue infinite Poets, and Pipers, and such peeuishe cattel among vs in Englande, that liue by merrie begging.'

201. *like untimely.* For this use of 'like' with an adjective compare The Tempest, iii. 3. 66:

'My fellow-ministers
Are like invulnerable.'

And Henry V, ii. 2. 183:

'The enterprise whereof
Shall be to you, as us, like glorious.'

204. *loss.* For this reading of the quartos the folios have 'death.'

206. *stall'd*, installed, invested. See Greene, Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, ii. 11:

'A friar newly stall'd in Brazen-nose.'

210. *Rivers and Dorset.* See note on i. 1. 154. Rivers is not mentioned by Hall among the bystanders.

212. *God, I pray him.* For the construction compare 3 Henry VI, i. 4. 6:

'My sons, God knows what has bechanced them.'

214. *But* (each of you be) *by some unlook'd accident*, &c. 'Unlooked' in the sense of 'unlooked for' is peculiar to this play.

217. *heaven* is here used as a plural; see l. 219. Compare v. 5. 20, and Richard II, i. 2. 6:

'Put we our quarrel to the will of heaven;
Who, when they see the hours ripe on earth,
Will rain hot vengeance on offenders' heads.'

222. *the worm of conscience.* In the margin of the Geneva version of Isaiah lxvi. 24, 'their worm shall not die' is explained as 'a continual torment of conscience, which shall ever gnaw them, and never suffer them to be at rest.'

Ib. begnaw. In such compounds, where the second part is a verb, the prefix 'be-' has an intensive force. So 'beweep,' l. 328.

227. *ugly*, spelt 'ougly' in the first and second folios, and probably pronounced so. The same form occurs in the earliest quarto of Venus and Adonis, 1041; and 'ouglie' or 'ougly' is found in the first five quartos of Lucrece, 1082. Again, in The Tempest, iv. 1. 191, the first folio has 'ouglier' for 'uglier,' but the spelling is very much a matter of caprice.

228. *elvish-mark'd*, marked by malignant fairies with some 'vicious mole of nature.' In Scotland, according to Allan Ramsay, cattle which were supposed to be bewitched by fairies were called 'elf-shot.' Compare what Margaret says of Richard in 3 Henry VI, ii. 2. 135 &c.:

'But thou art neither like thy sire nor dam;
But like a foul mis-shapen stigmatic,
Mark'd by the destinies to be avoided.'

Birth-marks, in connexion with the old belief in planetary influence, were thought to be indications of character. The Wife of Bath in Chaucer justifies the very explicit confession she makes of her experiences by saying,

'I had the prynte of Seynte Venus sel.'

Ib. rooting hog! A fine expression, according to Warburton, 'alluding (in memory of her young son) to the ravage which hogs make, with the finest flowers, in gardens.' It is hardly worth while discussing whether the expression be fine or coarse; the allusion is to the white boar which was the cognizance of Richard (compare iii. 2. 11 &c., iv. 5. 2, v. 2. 7 &c.), and to the well-known lines for which Collingbourne suffered. Heywood has preserved them with additions of his own in the second part of Edward IV (Works, i. 177, ed. 1874):

'The Cat, the Rat, and Louell our dog,
Do rule all England vnder a hog.
The crook-bakt Boare the way hath found
To root our Roses from the ground.
Both flower and bud will he confound,
Till King of beasts the swine be crownde:
And then the Dog, the Cat, and Rat,
Shall in his trough feed and be fat.'

230. *The slave of nature.* There is possibly here, as in the word 'stigmatic' applied to Richard by Margaret (3 Henry VI), a reference to the Roman custom of branding thievish or runaway slaves. Malone quotes Lucrece, 537:

'Worse than a slavish wipe, or birth-hour's blot.'

But 'slave' is also used as a term of contempt. See i. 2. 90.

Ib. the son of hell is a phrase applied to war in 2 Henry VI, v. 2. 33. Here Margaret implies that Richard is branded as a slave during his lifetime and doomed to perdition after death.

231. *slander.* Compare Richard II, i. 1. 113:

'Till I have told this slander of his blood,
How God and good men hate so foul a liar.'

And King John, iii. 1. 44:

'Ugly and slanderous to thy mother's womb.'

Ib. thy mother's heavy womb. So the quartos. The folios read 'thy heauie mother's womb.' In this case 'heavy' means 'sad.'

233. *Thou rag of honour.* 'Rag' is used contemptuously, as in v. 3. 328, and in The Taming of the Shrew, iv. 3. 112:

'Away, thou rag, thou quantity, thou remnant!'

See Timon of Athens, iv. 3. 271.

241. *Poor painted queen.* 'Painted' is here used to describe that which exists only in appearance and has no reality, as in King John, iii. 1. 105:

'The grappling vigour and rough frown of war
Is cold in amity and painted peace.'

Compare As You Like It, ii. 1. 3:

'Hath not old custom made this life more sweet
Than that of painted pomp?'

Ib. vain flourish of my fortune, mere empty ornament of that rank which is rightly mine. Similarly in Hamlet, ii. 2. 91, the 'outward flourishes' are the external details of a speech, mere ornaments, which have nothing to do with the matter.

242. *bottled,* bloated, swoln with venom. See iv. 4. 81.

246. *To help thee curse.* See iv. 4. 80. For the construction compare Troilus and Cressida, iii. 1. 163:

'I must woo you
To help unarm our Hector.'

And Romeo and Juliet, iv. 2. 44:

'To help me sort such needful ornaments.'

Ib. poisonous. So the first quarto and the folios. All the other quartos read 'poison'd,' the sense being the same. See the quotation from Lyly in note to i. 2. 20.

Ib. bunch-back'd, hunch-backed, hump-backed; an epithet appropriate to Richard and not to the animal to which he is compared. Florio (A Worlde of Wordes, 1598) has: 'Scrignuto, crookt-backe, croopt, bunch-backt, as camels be.'

248. *patience.* See above, l. 157.

255. *malapert,* saucy. See 3 Henry VI, v. 5. 32:

'Untutor'd lad, thou art too malapert.'

256. *fire-new,* brand-new; fresh from the mint, like a coin newly struck and not yet in circulation. Compare Lear, v. 3. 132:

'Despite thy victor sword and fire-new fortune.'

And Twelfth Night, iii. 2. 23: 'You should then have accosted her; and with some excellent jests, fire-new from the mint, you should have banged the youth into dumbness.' Thomas Grey, the queen's eldest son by her first husband, was created Marquis of Dorset April 18, 1475.

264. *aery,* the brood of an eagle or hawk. Compare King John, v. 2. 149:

'No: know the gallant monarch is in arms,
And like an eagle o'er his aery towers,
To souse annoyance that comes near his nest.'

Cotgrave (Fr. Dict.) gives, 'Herage: m. An ayrie of hawkes: and hence, a brood, kind; stocke, linage.'

Ib. the cedar's top. Compare 3 Henry VI, v. 2. 11, 12:

'Thus yields the cedar to the axe's edge,
Whose arms gave shelter to the princely eagle.'

And Marlowe, Edward the Second (ed. Dyce, 1862, p. 195):

'A lofty cedar-tree, fair flourishing,
On whose top branches kingly eagles flourish.'

267. *my son.* The quibble between 'son' and 'sun' is not unfrequent in Shakespeare. See Romeo and Juliet, iii. 5. 127:

'When the sun sets, the air doth drizzle dew;
But for the sunset of my brother's son
It rains downright.'

Ritson remarks of Margaret, 'Her distress cannot prevent her quibbling,' nor did the grief of Constance in King John. Gaunt on his death-bed is made to pun on his own name, and to Richard's question

'Can sick men play so nicely with their names?'

Coleridge answers, 'Yes! on a death-bed there is a feeling which may make all things appear but as puns and equivocations. And a passion there is that carries off its own excess by plays on words as naturally, and, therefore, as appropriately to the drama, as by gesticulations, looks, or tones.'

273. *Have done!* The folios read 'Peace, peace,' perhaps on account of the repetition of 'Have done' in Buckingham's next speech; and Sidney Walker doubts whether this should be spoken by Buckingham at all. As it is, we must suppose that the first line of Margaret's next speech is addressed to Buckingham, and that she then turns to Richard and the rest.

281. *amity*, friendship. So in The Merchant of Venice, iii. 2. 30:

'There may as well be amity and life
'Tween snow and fire, as treason and my love.'

Cotgrave (Fr. Dict.) gives: 'Amitié: f. Amitie, friendship, loue, kindnesse, good will.'

282. *fair befall thee*, may good fortune happen to thee. Compare Richard II, ii. 1. 129:

'My brother Gloucester, plain well-meaning soul,
Whom fair befall in heaven 'mongst happy souls!'

286. *in*, into. See i. 2. 260.

287. *I'll not believe.* The folios have 'I will not thinke.'

291. *venom*, used as an adjective, as in 3 Henry VI, ii. 2. 138:

'As venom toads, or lizards' dreadful stings.'

Ib. will rankle to the death. So the folios. The quartos have 'will rankle thee to death,' but 'rankle' is intransitive, as in Richard II. i. 3. 302:

'Fell sorrow's tooth doth never rankle more
Than when he bites, but lanceth not the sore,'

In both passages it signifies 'to breed corruption.'

293. *Sin, death, and hell.* Sir W. Blackstone suggested that 'possibly Milton took from hence the hint of his famous allegory' in Paradise Lost, ii. 648 &c., where he describes the meeting of Satan with Sin and Death, who sit on either side the gates of Hell. But though Milton was a student of Shakespeare he read his Bible as well, and the combination of these three words could hardly have accidentally suggested any new idea to a mind thoroughly familiar with the theology of his time.

296. *respect*, regard, care for. Compare Julius Cæsar, iv. 3. 69:

'For I am arm'd so strong in honesty,
That they pass by me as the idle wind,
Which I respect not.'

298. *soothe*, flatter. See note on i. 2. 168, and King John, iii. 1. 121:

'Thou art perjured too,
And soothest up greatness.'

And Holland's Plutarch, p. 86: 'Cogging and soothing vp their good masters at everie word.'

304. *on end.* The folios have 'an end,' where 'an' is a preposition, which appears in the contracted form in 'a-fishing' &c.

305. *I muse, why.* The quartos have 'I wonder.' Compare King John, iii. 1. 317;

'I muse your majesty doth seem so cold.'

309. The first and second folios assign this speech to Margaret instead of to Elizabeth, as the first five quartos. The remaining quartos give it to Hastings, and the third and fourth folios to 'Der.' that is, Derby, which Rowe alters to 'Dors.' or Dorset.

313. *Marry*, a monosyllable.

314. *frank'd*, confined as in a frank or sty. See iv. 5. 3, and 2 Henry IV, ii. 2. 160: 'Where sups he? Doth the old boar feed in the old frank?' Baret (Alvearie, ed. 1580) has: 'Franked, or fedde, to be made fatte. Altilis.' Of the tame boar, Harrison in his Description of England (ed. 1586), p. 222, says: 'the husbandmen and farmers neuer franke them for their owne vse aboue three or four moneths, or halfe a yeere at the most.' Cotgrave (Fr. Dict.) gives, 'Franc: m. A franke, or stie to feed, and fatten hogs in.'

317. *scathe*, injury, harm; from A. S. *sceðan* or *sceððan*, to injure. Compare King John, ii. 1. 75:

'To do offence and scath in Christendom.'

In the first folio the word is spelt 'scath' as in the present passage, but the spelling is not uniform. Cotgrave has, 'Offenser. To offend, hurt, wrong, iniure, abuse, harme, damnifie, doe scathe vnto.'

318. The stage direction in the folios is 'Speakes to himselfe.'

319. Catesby, who now enters and plays such a conspicuous part in the drama, was Sir William Catesby of Ashby St. Leger, who was Sheriff of Northampton 18 Edward IV, and under Richard was Chancellor of the Exchequer and either Attorney General or Speaker of the House of Commons, for on this point authorities are not agreed. (French, Shakspeareana Genealogica, p. 235.)

321. *and you, my noble lords.* The folios read 'and yours, my gracious Lord.'

325. *set abroach*, been the cause of, set agoing. A figure of speech taken from a beer barrel. Compare 2 Henry IV, iv. 2. 14:

'Alack, what mischiefs might he set abroach
In shadow of such greatness!'

And Romeo and Juliet, i. 1. 111:

'Who set this ancient quarrel new abroach?'

326. *grievous*, spelt in some of the old copies 'greevious' or 'grevious,' which may be defended by the advocates of 'rariety,' 'jealious,' 'enormious,' and other eccentricities of spelling.

327. *whom.* The first folio reads 'who.' See l. 54.

It. laid. The folios have 'cast.' If such changes are supposed to have the authority of Shakespeare's supervision it would seem that a less appropriate word has here been substituted. Richard's influence is throughout supposed to be concealed, and 'laid' expresses this much better than 'cast,' which implies more direct action on his part. The phrase 'laid in darkness' was perhaps borrowed from the Prayer-Book version of Psalm xliii. 3: 'He hath laid me in the darkness, as the men that have been long dead.'

328. *beweep.* See note on 'begnaw,' l. 222.

Ib. gulls, dupes, fools. In Cheshire a gull is a callow or unfledged nestling, and so may denote a person inexperienced and easily imposed on. Compare 1 Henry IV, v. 1. 60, and Timon of Athens, ii. 1. 31. The animal creation has furnished many synonymous terms. Cotgrave (Fr. Dict.) has, 'Besmus: m. A sot, a doult, gull, woodcocke, lobcocke, asse.' And again, 'Niais: m. A neastling; a young bird taken out of a neast; hence a youngling, nouice, cunnie, ninnie, fop, noddie, cockney, dotterell, peagoose; a simple, witlesse, and vnexperienced gull.' In Herefordshire, Shropshire, Surrey and Sussex a 'gull' is a gosling; and in other dialects we find 'golling' (Swaledale), 'gollock,' 'gollin,' 'gollop,' or 'golly' (Holderness), in the same general sense as 'gull' is used in Cheshire.

329. *Hastings, Derby.* The folios transpose these names and in the next line read 'tell them 'tis' for 'say it is.'

333. *Vaughan.* Sir Thomas Vaughan, Chamberlain to Edward IV, is buried in Westminster Abbey (Brayley's Westminster Abbey, ii. 181, 182). He suffered at Pomfret with Rivers and Grey (iii. 3), who are here mentioned with him. For 'Vaughan' the folios read 'Dorset.'

334. ***with a piece of scripture.*** Compare The Merchant of Venice, i. 3. 99–103.

337. ***odd ends,*** detached fragments; here, quotations not specially appropriate. Compare Much Ado, ii. 3. 244: 'I may chance have some odd quirks and remnants of wit broken upon me.' And The Merchant of Venice, ii. 2. 66: 'According to Fates and Destinies and such odd sayings.'

338. Enter two Murderers. This is the stage direction in the folios. The quartos have 'Enter Executioners.'

340. ***resolved,*** resolute. Compare King John, v. 6. 29:

'A monk, I tell you; a resolved villain.'

346. ***sudden,*** quick. So in The Tempest, ii. 1. 306: 'Then let us both be sudden.' And Julius Cæsar, iii. 1. 19:

'Casca, be sudden, for we fear prevention.'

Hence 'suddenly' signifies hastily or rashly, as in 1 Timothy v. 22: 'Lay hands suddenly on no man,' where the Greek is ταχέως.

349. ***if you mark him,*** if you attend to him. Compare Love's Labour's Lost, v. 1. 172:

'They do not mark me, and that brings me out.'

350, 351. ***Tush! Fear not.*** For the metre's sake the folios read 'Tut, tut.' 'Tush' is an expression of scornful impatience, as in the Prayer-Book version of Psalm x. 6: 'For he hath said in his heart, Tush, I shall never be cast down.'

354. ***drop tears.*** The folios read 'fall tears.' For the sentiment Steevens quotes from the play of Cæsar and Pompey (1607):

'Men's eyes must mill-stones drop, when fools shed tears.'

Scene IV.

The stage direction, 'Enter Clarence and Brakenbury,' is from the quartos, which have 'Enter Clarence, Brokenbury.' The folios read 'Enter Clarence and Keeper,' and Brakenbury is not brought in till l. 75, where the stage direction in the folios is 'Enter Brakenbury the Lieutenant,' and lines 76–83 are spoken by him. The change was made apparently because it was felt incongruous in an official of Brakenbury's rank to discharge the office of a gaoler. But it must be remembered that his prisoner was a prince of the blood. Tradition associates the scene of Clarence's murder with the Bowyer Tower. See Knight's London, ii. 239.

1. ***heavily,*** sadly, sorrowfully. See ii. 3. 40.

3. ***of ugly sights, of ghastly dreams.*** The folios have 'of fearefull Dreames, of vgly sights.'

4. ***faithful man,*** used here in the technical sense of a believer in the truth of Christianity, one who is not an infidel or 'faithless.' See The Merchant of Venice, ii. 4. 38.

8. *I long to hear you tell it.* The folios read 'What was your dream my Lord, I pray you tel me.'

9. *Methoughts.* The folios and early quartos have this corrupt form, which occurs again in Winter's Tale, i. 2. 154:

'Looking on the lines
Of my boy's face, methoughts I did recoil
Twenty-three years.'

It is evidently formed on the false analogy of 'methinks.'

9, 10. The quartos have only 'Me thoughts I was imbarkt for Burgundy.'

10. *to Burgundy.* After the battle of Wakefield, where their father was slain, Richard and Clarence with their mother found refuge at the court of the Duke; and when the Duchess of Clarence died there was an attempt made to bring about a marriage between Clarence and the heiress of Burgundy.

14. *fearful.* The folios read 'heavy.'

18. *falling.* The quartos have 'stumbling.'

24. *Methought.* Here again the folios read 'Methoughts.'

25. *Ten thousand.* So the quartos. The folios have 'A thousand.'

26. *great anchors.* It has been suggested to me by a learned friend that as the rest of the description refers to precious things, gold, pearls, and so on, we should here read 'great ingots' instead of 'great anchors.' The word was known to Shakespeare and is used by him in Measure for Measure, iii. 1. 26: 'Like an ass whose back with ingots bows.' It was moreover the technical word for the bars of unwrought silver, such as might be found in the wreck of a plate ship from the Spanish main.

27. *unvalued,* that cannot be valued, invaluable. See Chapman's Homer, Iliad, xvi. 221:

'He took a most vnvalued bowl, in which none drank but he.'

So 'unavoided' for 'unavoidable,' in iv. 4. 217.

28. *All . . . sea.* Omitted in the quartos.

36, 37. *and often . . . ghost.* These words also are omitted in the quartos.

37. *To yield the ghost.* So 1 Henry VI, i. 1. 67:

'If Henry were recall'd to life again,
These news would cause him once more yield the ghost.'

39. *seek.* The first two quartos have 'seeke,' the rest 'keepe,' which was changed in the folios to 'find,' just as in the previous line 'Kept' was altered to 'Stop'd.' The soul is compared to a fine essence.

Ib. vast, waste, desolate; and in a secondary sense, limitless. Compare Titus Andronicus, iv. 1. 53:

'Forced in the ruthless, vast, and gloomy woods.'

And again, in the same play v. 2. 36:

'No vast obscurity or misty vale.'

Malone proposed to consider 'vast' as a substantive and to punctuate the line thus,

'To seek the empty vast, and wandering air';

comparing Pericles, iii. 1. 1:

'Thou God of this great vast, rebuke these surges.'

40. *bulk*, the chest, body. Compare Lucrece, 467, and Hamlet, ii. 1. 95:

'He raised a sigh so piteous and profound
As it did seem to shatter all his bulk.'

Of the heart John Davies of Hereford says, in his Microcosmus (ed. Grosart), p. 28, col. 2:

'And in the bulke it is so situate
As that its Base is Center of the Brest.'

45. *Who pass'd.* The folios have 'I past.'

Ib. the melancholy flood, the Styx. For 'flood' in the sense of 'river,' see Joshua xxiv. 2: 'Your fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood in old time'; that is, beyond the river Euphrates.

46. *that grim ferryman*, Charon. In the folios his epithet is altered to 'sowre.' Which should be preferred it is difficult to say, both being used in the sense of morose, crabbed.

47. *the kingdom of perpetual night.* See ii. 2. 46.

49. *renowned.* Spelt 'renowmed' in the first five quartos. See Cotgrave (Fr. Dict.), 'Renommé . . . Renowmed, famous, of much note.'

50. *perjury.* Compare the scene 3 Henry VI, v. 1. 80, &c., where Warwick in the flesh calls him

'O passing traitor, perjured and unjust.'

54. *squeak'd.* The reading supported by the quartos. The folios have 'shriek'd.' Although the former word has a somewhat grotesque sound to a modern ear, it was employed to describe the thin shrill voice in which ghosts were supposed to speak. Compare Hamlet, i. 1. 116:

'The graves stood tenantless and the sheeted dead
Did squeak and gibber in the Roman streets.'

And Julius Cæsar, ii. 2. 24:

'And ghosts did shriek and squeal about the streets.'

See the note on the latter passage in the Clarendon Press edition.

55. *fleeting*, fickle, unstable, inconstant. Compare Antony and Cleopatra, v. 2. 240:

'The fleeting moon
No planet is of mine.'

The moon was the emblem of inconstancy. See Romeo and Juliet, ii. 2. 109.

56. See note on i. 1. 154.

57. *to your torments.* The folios read 'unto torment.'

58. *methoughts.* See l. 9.

59. The folios omit 'about.'

65. *I promise you, I am afraid.* For this reading of the quartos the folios substitute 'I am afraid (me thinkes).'

66. *O Brakenbury.* As Brakenbury in the folios does not enter till after l. 75, they read here 'Ah Keeper, Keeper.'

67. *bear evidence.* For this the folios have the more familiar phrase 'give evidence.' We still retain 'bear witness.'

69–73. *O God! . . . children!* These four lines are in the folios but not in the quartos.

71. *in me*, on me. See above, l. 28, and compare 1 Henry IV, i. 3. 149: 'Whose wrongs in us God pardon!'

72. *my guiltless wife.* Clarence's wife Isabel, the eldest daughter of Warwick, died Dec. 12, 1476, before the time of this scene.

73. *I pray thee, gentle keeper, stay by me.* For this line, which is adapted to the arrangement of the quartos, where Brakenbury is the interlocutor in the dialogue, the folios substitute 'Keeper, I prythee sit by me a-while.'

80. *for unfelt imagination*, instead of what they dream of but never realise. The folios have the plural here.

82. *names.* The folios read 'name,' making the soliloquy end with a rhyming couplet.

84. The quartos omit this line.

85. *In God's name what are you* &c. Perhaps to avoid the Act of 3 James I 'to restrain the abuses of players' and a prosecution for profanity, the folios here substitute 'What would'st thou, Fellow? And how camm'st thou hither.'

89, 90. The folios, assigning this speech to the first Murderer, as they give 86, 87 to his companion, read,

> 'Tis better (Sir) then to be tedious:
> Let him see our Commission, and talke no more.'

93. *reason*, argue, discuss.

94. *guiltless of the meaning.* Compare Macbeth, iii. 2. 45:

> 'Be innocent of the knowledge, dearest chuck.'

95. *Here . . . asleep.* The folios have

> 'There lies the Duke asleepe, and there the Keyes.'

96. *I'll . . . him.* So the folios. The quartos read

> 'Ile to his Maiestie, and certifie his Grace.'

97. *my charge to you.* The folios have 'to you my charge' which perhaps is better on account of the ending 'to him' in the previous line.

98. *Do so, it is.* The folios read 'You may sir 'tis' &c., and the quartos omit 'fare you well.' In the first folio the spelling 'Far you well' probably represents the pronunciation of the time.

Ib. a point of wisdom, a proceeding which argues wisdom. Compare 1 Henry IV, v. 1. 122: 'Hal, if thou see me down in the battle and bestride me, so; 'tis a point of friendship.'

101. In this dialogue there are many small variations between the quartos and folios which are not worth recording. I shall only notice the more important.

115. *Back*, &c. The folios read, 'Ile backe to the Duke of Glouster, and tell him so.'

116, 117. *my holy humour*. The folios have 'this passionate humor of mine.'

118. *tell*, count.

120. *some certain dregs*. So 1 Henry IV, iv. 3. 79:

'To reform
Some certain edicts and some strait decrees.'

124. '*Zounds*, softened to 'Come' in the folios. See above, note on l. 85. For the same reason they omit 'Faith' l. 120.

129. *will entertain it*, or take it into their service, give it employment. See i. 2. 256.

131. *it is a dangerous thing*. Omitted in the folios, perhaps because of the repetition, l. 139.

132. *it makes a man a coward*. See Hamlet iii. 1. 83:

'Thus conscience does make cowards of us all.'

135. *shamefast*. This spelling, which gives the correct form of the word (from A. S. *seamfæst* or *sceamfæst*), is supported by the authority of the majority of the quartos. But the corruption which has prevailed to this day was already countenanced by the reading of the folios 'shamefac'd.' In the same way in 3 Henry VI, iv. 8. 52, 'shamefac'd' is the spelling of the folios, while in the original play, The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, it is 'shamefast.' The corruption is at least as early as Sidney's Arcadia (quoted in Richardson's Dictionary).

137. *that I found*. The folios have 'that (by chance) I found.'

143. *Take the devil in thy mind*, seize hold of him in thy imagination. Warburton explains it, 'Take the devil into thy nearer acquaintance, into thy mind, who will be a match for thy conscience, and believe it not.' But conscience and 'the devil' are here the same.

144. *would insinuate with thee*, would wind himself into thy confidence, ingratiate himself with thee. Compare Venus and Adonis, 1012:

'With Death she humbly doth insinuate.'

145. *strong-framed*. The quartos have 'strong in fraud.'

147. *a tall fellow* is an active vigorous fellow. We use the adjective which describes the other dimension, 'stout,' to denote the same thing. Sir Toby says of Sir Andrew Aguecheek (Twelfth Night, i. 3. 20), 'He's as tall a man as any's in Illyria.'

148. *shall we to this gear?* shall we set about this business? or, as the folios read, 'Shall we fall to worke?' Compare 2 Henry VI, i. 4. 17: 'To this gear the sooner the better.' 'Gear' is literally dress, apparatus; from A. S. *gearu*, ready; whence *gearwe*, preparation, clothing.

149. *Take him*, strike him, fetch him a blow. Compare Measure for Measure, ii. 1. 189: 'If he took you a box o' the ear, you might have your action of slander too.' That 'take' should mean 'give' appears strange, but in Early English instances are not uncommon. In Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle (ed. Hearne), p. 91:

'Some seyde þat hym wer beter take ys neuew conan
þe kyndom of þis lond':

Some said that it were better for him to give (bestow upon, entrust to) his nephew Conan the kingdom of this land. And again, p. 92:

'þat god yt were to al þe lond to take hym þe kindom';

that is, that it were good for all the land to give him the kingdom. Further, p. 13:

'þe kyng tok Brut ys owne body in ostage as yt were';

the king entrusted to Brute his own body as it were in hostage.

Ib. costard, properly a kind of apple, is a humorous expression for the head. So in Lear, iv. 6. 247: 'Ise try whether your costard or my ballow be the harder.'

Ib. the hilts, used of a single weapon, as in Julius Cæsar, v. 3. 43:

'Stand not to answer; here, take thou the hilts.'

150. *and then we will chop him in*, &c. The folios have 'and throw him into, &c.' 'Chop' is used very much as in familiar language we use 'clap.' Compare The True Tragedie of Richard the Third (Shakespeare's Library, ed. Hazlitt, v. 84): 'He spares none whom he but mistrusteth to be a hinderer to his proceedings, he is straight chopt vp in prison.'

Ib. malmsey. In Hall's Chronicle (Edward IV, p. 326) it is said that Clarence 'was priuely drouned in a But of Maluesey.' In Holinshed, and in a later passage of Hall (p. 342), this is changed to 'malmesie'; for the two are identical, the wines deriving their name from Napoli di Malvasia in the Morea, where they were originally made. Cotgrave has 'Malvoisie: f. Malmesie'; and 'Malvesie' is the form used in Chaucer.

152. *a sop* was properly the cake or wafer which was put into a cup of prepared drink and floated at the top.

153, 154. *Hark! . . . him.* The folios have here,

'1 Soft he wakes.
2 Strike.
1 No, wee'l reason with him.'

154. *reason*, talk, speak. See ii. 3. 39, iii. 1. 132, iv. 4. 537.

165. *Who sent . . . come?* The quartos read

'Tell me who are you, wherefore come you hither?'

166. Both. *To, to, to—* In the folios this is given to '2,' that is, the second murderer.

177. *Where are the evidence that do accuse me?* The folios read 'Where is the evidence that doth accuse me?' In the quarto reading 'evidence' is

plural, and is used in the collective sense of 'the body of witnesses.' In the folios it signifies 'testimony.' For the former compare Lear, iii. 6. 37:

'I'll see their trial first. Bring in the evidence.'

178. *quest*, inquest or jury, Compare Sonnet xlvi. 10:

'To 'cide this title is impanneled
A quest of thoughts.'

And Hall's Chronicle, Hen. VIII, p. 573: 'Wyllyam Barnewell crowner of London, the daye and yere aboue sayde within the warde of Castylbaynerd of London assembled a quest, whose names afterwarde doo appere.'

181. *convict*, convicted. Compare 'acquit' for 'acquitted,' v. 5. 3: 'contract' for 'contracted,' iii. 7. 179; 'deject' for 'dejected,' Hamlet, iii. 1. 163; 'infect' for 'infected,' Troilus and Cressida, i. 3. 187. See Abbott, § 342, where more instances are given of the omission of the *-ed* in participles which are formed from verbs ending in *d* or *t*. This may have been due either to a desire for euphony or to assimilate the form of the English to the Latin participle from which it is derived.

Ib. by course of law. Clarence was actually attainted of high treason. See note on i. 1. 85.

183. *to have redemption.* The folios read 'for any goodnesse,' but they omit the following line, perhaps to avoid the Act against profanity.

187. *upon command*, by command. See i. 1. 46, iv. 1. 9.

196. *forswearing*, perjury. See i. 3. 136.

197, 198. The folios mend the metre by reading,

'Thou did'st receiue the Sacrament, to fight
In &c.'

198. *in quarrel of the house of Lancaster.* So in 3 Henry VI, iii. 2. 6: 'in quarrel of the house of York.'

201. *Unrip'dst.* Rowe restored the grammatical form of the word, which is printed 'unripst' or 'unrip'st' in the older copies, probably on account of the difficulty in pronunciation caused by so many consonants. Similarly in The Tempest, i. 2. 333: 'Thou strokedst me and madest much of me,' the first folio has 'Thou stroakst me, & made much of me.'

204. *in so dear degree.* 'Dear' occurs frequently in Shakespeare as an emphatic adjective, the exact equivalent of which is suggested by the context. Compare Henry V, ii. 2. 181:

'True repentance
Of all your dear offences.'

And King John, i. 1. 257:

'Thou art the issue of my dear offence.'

Again, Richard II. i. 3. 151:

'The dateless limit of thy dear exile.'

And Timon of Athens, v. 1. 231:

'Let us return,
And strain what other means is left unto us
In our dear peril.'

208. *ye.* The folios more correctly read 'you,' which is the proper form of the accusative; but 'ye' so commonly takes its place, where the pronoun is not emphatic, or where it is used familiarly, that what was originally an error has become a rule of grammar. See Abbott, § 236.

211. *O know . . . publicly.* Omitted in the quartos.

216. *gallant-springing*, putting forth the fair promise of his youth. The figure is the same as that employed in 3 Henry VI, ii. 6. 46–51:

'Revoke that doom of mercy, for 'tis Clifford;
Who not contented that he lopp'd the branch
In hewing Rutland when his leaves put forth,
But set his murdering knife unto the root
From whence that tender spray did sweetly spring.'

Malone quotes, not quite correctly, from Spenser's Shepheards Calender, Februarie, l. 51:

'Ah, foolish old man! I scorne thy skill,
That wouldest me my springing youngth to spil.'

217. *novice*, one new to the world, just entering upon life. Cotgrave (Fr. Dict.) gives, 'Nouice: com. A nouice, a young Monke, or Nunne; one thats but newly entred into th' Order; also, a yongling, or beginner, in any profession.'

218. *My brother's love*, love for my brother.

220. *Provoke us . . . thee.* As in the folios. The quartos read

'Haue brought vs hither now to murder thee,'

which perhaps should be retained.

223. *meed*, reward. The reading of the first quarto and all the folios. The other quartos have 'neede.'

232. *And charged us . . . other.* Omitted in the folios.

235. *Ay, millstones.* See i. 3. 354. To weep millstones was a proverbial expression for not weeping at all. See Troilus and Cressida, i. 2. 158:

'*Pan.* But there was such laughing! Queen Hecuba laughed that her eyes ran o'er.

Cres. With mill-stones.'

Ib. lesson'd, taught. So Coriolanus, ii. 3. 185:

'Could you not have told him
As you were lesson'd?'

238. *As snow in harvest*, referring to Proverbs xxvi. 1: 'As snow in summer, and as rain in harvest, so honour is not seemly for a fool.' The first murderer understands 'kind' in the sense of 'natural.'

238, 239. *Thou deceivest . . . thee.* The folios read,

'Come, you deceiue your selfe,
'Tis he that sends vs to destroy you heere.'

240. *when I parted with him.* See i. 1. 115. The folios have here 'he bewept my fortune,' and read 'And' for 'He' in the next line.

242. *labour*, effect. See Much Ado, v. 1. 292:

'If your love
Can labour aught in sad invention.'

252–263. Sec. Murd. *What . . . pities not?* The arrangement of this passage which is here given was first suggested by Tyrwhitt and adopted by Steevens in his edition of 1793. It is a combination of the readings of the quartos and folios. In the first quarto the passage stands thus:

'2 What shall we doe?
Cla. Relent, and saue your soules.
1 Relent, tis cowardly and womanish.
Cla. Not to relent, is beastly, sauage, diuelish,
My friend. I spie some pitty in thy lookes:
Oh if thy eye be not a flatterer,
Come thou on my side and intreat for me,
A begging Prince, what begger pities not?'

As expanded in the folios it reads,

'2 What shall we do?
Cla. Relent, and saue your soules:
Which of you, if you were a Princes Sonne,
Being pent from Liberty, as I am now,
If two such murtherers as your selues came to you,
Would not entreat for life, as you would begge
Were you in my distresse.
1 Relent? no: 'Tis cowardly and womanish.
Cla. Not to relent, is beastly, sauage, diuellish:
My Friend, I spy some pitty in thy lookes:
O, if thine eye be not a Flatterer,
Come thou on my side, and intreate for mee,
A begging Prince, what begger pitties not.
2 Looke behinde you, my Lord.'

The additional lines were probably written in the margin and inserted by the printers in the wrong place. Mr. Spedding would put them at the end of Clarence's speech, after 'A begging prince, &c.' leaving the sentence unfinished at 'distress'—where 'The second murderer, who has begun to relent, seeing the other preparing to stab Clarence from behind, interrupts him, and tries to put him on his guard.' But if the second murderer is influenced by Clarence's words, this seems to be a reason why a special appeal to him should follow the lines addressed to both.

252. *relent* in the sense of 'repent' is used by Spenser, Faery Queen, iii. 1. 25:

'Whom whenas Venus saw so sore displeased,
She inly sorry was, and gan relent
What shee had said.'

259. Clarence turns to the second murderer who is the softer hearted of the two.

266. *drown . . . within.* The quartos have 'chop thee . . . in the next roome.'

268. *like Pilate.* See Matthew xxvii. 24.

269. *this . . . done.* The folios have only 'this most greeuous murther.'

270. *How . . . not?* The quartos read 'Why doest thou not helpe me.'

277. *take order*, take measures, give directions. See iv. 2. 53; iv. 4. 539; and compare 2 Henry VI, iii. 1. 320:

'I am content: provide me soldiers, lords,
Whiles I take order for mine own affairs.'

The folios in the present passage read 'Till that the Duke giue order.'

ACT II.

Scene I.

In the stage direction of the folios Grey is omitted, and Catesby and Woodville introduced. But Catesby does not appear in the scene, and Woodville is the same as Earl Rivers, the queen's brother. The authority for this portion of the play is again More's Life of Richard III, as incorporated both in Hall's and Holinshed's Chronicles. From the latter we learn that the king had long been troubled by the dissensions in his court, though while he was in health he did not regard them. 'But in his last sicknesse, when he perceiued his naturall strength so sore infeebled, that he dispaired all recouerie, then he, considering the youth of his children, albeit he nothing lesse mistrusted than that that hapned; yet well foreseeing that manie harmes might grow by their debate, while the youth of his children should lacke discretion of themselues, & good counsell of their freends, of which either partie should counsell for their owne commoditie, & rather by pleasant aduise to win themselues fauor, than by profitable aduertisement to doo the children good, he called some of them before him that were at variance, and in especiall the lord marquesse Dorset the queenes sonne by hir first husband.

'So did he also William the lord Hastings a noble man, then lord chamberleine, against whome the queene speciallie grudged, from the great fauour the king bare him . . . . When these lords, with diuerse other of bothe the parties, were come in presence, the king lifting vp himselfe, and vnderset

with pillowes, as it is reported, on this wise said vnto them.' Then follows 'The oration of the king on his death-bed.' (Holinshed, iii. 713.)

3. *embassage*, the old form of 'embassy,' in the sense of message. Compare Richard II, iii. 4. 93:

'Nimble mischance, that art so light of foot,
Doth not thy embassage belong to me,
And am I last that knows it?'

The word, together with the Italian *ambasciata*, or *imbasciata*, and the French *embassade*, is from the Low Latin *ambassiata*, which is ultimately connected with the Gothic *andbahts*, a servant.

7. *Rivers and Hastings.* The folio reading 'Dorset and Rivers' is obviously wrong, for these were nephew and uncle, and of course of the queen's party.

8. *Dissemble not your hatred*, do not merely conceal your hatred under a mask of friendship.

9. *soul.* The quartos read 'heart,' but this is changed in the folios on account of 'heart' in the next line.

12. *dally*, trifle, play the fool. Compare 1 Henry IV, v. 3. 57: 'What, is it a time to jest and dally now?'

13. *supreme*, with the accent on the first syllable, as always in Shakespeare, except Coriolanus iii. 1. 110. See iii. 7. 118.

19. *Nor your son Dorset.* The folios read 'Nor you sonne Dorset.'

27. *unviolable.* The folios have the modern from 'inviolable.'

30. *embracements*, embraces. See Henry VIII, i. 1. 10:

'How they clung
In their embracement, as they grew together.'

33. *but . . . Doth* = and doth not.

37. *And most assured.* For a similar elliptical construction compare 1 Henry IV, ii. 4. 279, 280: 'We two saw you four set on four, and bound them, and were masters of their wealth.' And 3 Henry VI, ii. 2. 99:

'Ay, and old York, and yet not satisfied.'

45. *And, in good time, . . . duke.* The folios read,

'And in good time,
Heere comes Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and the Duke.'

The following stage direction is consequently 'Enter Ratcliffe, and Gloster.'

Ib. in good time, opportunely. See iii. 1. 24, 95; iv. 1. 12. Cotgrave (Fr. Dict.) has, 'A la bonne heure. Happily, luckily, fortunately, in good time, in a good houre.'

47. *a happy time of day!* Compare i. 1. 122.

51. *swelling*, inflated with passion. Compare Richard II. i. 1. 201:

'The swelling difference of your settled hate.'

64. *my noble cousin Buckingham.* Buckingham's grandmother and Richard's mother were sisters. Henry Stafford, second duke of Buckingham,

was the grandson of Humphrey the first duke, who married Anne Neville, sister of Cicely Neville, Duchess of York, both of them being daughters of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland. Buckingham married Katherine Woodville, the queen's sister. His father Humphrey, Earl Stafford, was killed at the first battle of St. Alban's in 1455.

66. *Lord Grey*, or, more correctly, Sir Richard Grey, was the queen's second son by her first husband. He is called Lord Richard Grey in Hall's Chronicle (Edward V, p. 349): 'And therwith in ye kinges presence they picked a quarel to the lord Richard Grey the quenes sonne, and brother to the lord Marques & halfe brother to the kyng.' The folios here read 'Of you, and you, Lord Riuers and of Dorset,' which Mr. Spedding adopts, supposing the first 'Of you' to be addressed to Grey, in order to avoid the awkwardness of using 'all' in the next line when only two persons have been mentioned. We might get rid of this difficulty by transposing lines 67 and 68.

67. After this line the folios insert,

'Of you, Lord Wooduill, and Lord Scales of you.'

But Lord Scales was only another title of Antony Woodville, Earl Rivers, the queen's brother. 'Her brother lorde Anthony, was married to ye sole heire of Thomas lord Scales, & by her he was lord Scales.' (Hall, Edward IV, p. 264.) See note on i. 1. 67.

69–72. Steevens has pointed out that these lines are quoted by Milton in his Eikonoklastes or reply to the Eikon Basilike which was attributed to the king, as an illustration of the truth that the poets are so far consistent in their representations of character 'As to put never more pious words in the mouth of any person than of a tyrant'; and 'that the deepest policy of a tyrant hath been ever to counterfeit religious.'

70. *jot.* See note on Coriolanus, ii. 2. 139 (Clarendon Press ed.).

Ib. at odds, at variance. Compare Romeo and Juliet, i. 2. 5:

'And pity 'tis you lived at odds so long.'

And Macbeth, iii. 4. 127:

'Almost at odds with morning, which is which.'

81. *Who knows not he is dead!* This speech is given to the king in the folios.

84, 85. *no one . . . But.* See i. 2. 71, i. 3. 186.

85. *forsook*, forsaken. Shakespeare uses both forms of the participle. So in Richard II, ii. 3. 26:

'No, my good Lord; he hath forsook the Court.'

There are many instances of preterites used as participles.

90. *too lag*, too tardily. Compare Lear i. 2. 6:

'For that I am some twelve or fourteen moonshines
Lag of a brother.'

In 1 Henry IV, v. 1. 24, 'the lag end of my life' is the last part of my life.

Florio (Ital. Dict.) gives 'Dirieto, lag, last, behind, hindmost.' The verb is common.

92. *Nearer in bloody thoughts, but not in blood.* As Steevens points out, there is the same play upon words in Macbeth, ii. 3. 146:

'The near in blood,
The nearer bloody.'

Richard of course refers to the queen's kindred. See i. 3. 330.

99. *The forfeit . . . of my servant's life*, the life of my servant which he has forfeited.

102. The hint for this speech was supplied by Hall's Chronicle, Edward IV, p. 326: 'But sure it is that although kyng Edward were consentyng to his death and destruccion, yet he much dyd bothe lamente his infortunate chaunce, and repent his sodayne execucion. Inasmuche, that when any person sued to hym for Pardon or remission, of any malefactor condempned to the punishment of death, he woulde accustomably saye, & openly speke, O infortunate brother, for whose lyfe not one creature would make intercession, openly spekyng, and apparantly meanynge, that by the meanes of some of the nobilitie, he was circumuented, and brought to hys confusion.'

103. *the same.* The folios have 'that tongue,' which is a better reading.

107. *bade.* The folios have 'bid.' Both forms occur. So in Midsummer Night's Dream, iv. 1. 200 (wrongly numbered 192 in the Globe edition):

'Did you not think
The Duke was here and bid us follow him?'

Ib. be advised, be deliberate, reflect, consider. Compare Richard II, i. 3. 188: 'by advised purpose.' And King John, iv. 2. 214:

'More upon humour than advised respect.'

112. *When Oxford had me down.* This is a touch which history did not supply. Although, in the Third Part of Henry VI, Oxford is represented as being present at Tewkesbury, yet, according to Hall, he fled after the battle of Barnet into Wales, and afterwards took St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, which he held for the queen.

115. *lap*, wrap. Compare Macbeth, i. 2. 54: 'Bellona's bridegroom, lapp'd in proof.' And Cymbeline, v. 5. 360:

'He, sir, was lapp'd
In a most curious mantle.'

Cotgrave has 'Plisser. To plait, fould, lap vp, or one within another.' Etymologically 'lap' is only another form of 'wrap,' which in Middle English was *wlappen* or *wlappe*, and is of frequent occurrence in the Wicliffite Versions. See Professor Skeat's Etymological Dictionary.

116. The folios have, 'Euen in his Garments, and did giue himselfe.'

117. *thin*, thinly covered. Compare Richard II, iii. 2. 112:

'White-beards have arm'd their thin and hairless scalps
Against thy majesty.'

129. *beholding*, indebted. See note on Julius Cæsar, iii. 2. 63 (Clarendon Press ed.).

133. *Hastings*, as Malone remarks, was Lord Chamberlain. See i. 1. 77.

Ib. closet, a private apartment or chamber. Compare King John, iv. 2. 267:

'O answer not, but to my closet bring
The angry lords with all expedient haste.'

138. *But come, let us in.* The folios have 'Come Lords will you go.'

Scene II.

Stage direction. The two children of Clarence were Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, who was beheaded by Henry VII, Nov. 21, 1499, and Margaret Plantagenet, afterwards Countess of Salisbury and mother of the famous Cardinal Pole. She suffered the same fate as her brother May 27, 1541. The Duchess of York was Cicely Neville, daughter of Ralph Earl of Westmoreland.

1. *Tell me, good grandam.* So the quartos, spelling grandam 'Granam' as pronounced. The folios have 'Good grandam tell vs.'

8. *cousins* is used loosely of any persons who are not within the first degree of relationship to each other. Here it signifies 'grandchildren,' as in King John, iii. 3. 17, where Elinor says to the Bastard Falconbridge, a natural son of Richard Cœur de Lion, 'Farewell, gentle cousin.' See note on Hamlet, i. 2. 64 (Clarendon Press ed.).

12. *Then . . . conclude that he* &c. The folios read 'Then you conclude, (my grandam) he &c.,' and 'it' for 'this' in the next line.

15. *daily.* The folios have 'earnest.'

18. *Incapable*, unable to understand or feel. Compare Hamlet, iv. 7. 179; where Ophelia's death is described:

'Which time she chanted snatches of old tunes;
As one incapable of her own distress.'

21. *provoked.* The folios add 'to it.'

24. *hugg'd me in his arm.* The folios mend the metre by reading 'pitied me.' It would have been a simpler and better change to omit 'kindly.'

28. *vizard*, mask. Properly speaking it was the front part of a helmet which protected the upper part of the face and was pierced with holes for the wearer to see through. Hence its name, which is derived from the French *visière*, defined by Cotgrave (Fr. Dict.) as 'the viser, or sight of an helmet.'

33. The stage direction is taken from the folios.

38. *impatience*, a quadrisyllable. See i. 3. 157. This play contains many such feeble expedients for eking out the metre.

41, 42. *now the root is wither'd? . . . the sap being gone.* The folio read 'when the root is gone . . . that want their sap.'

43. *be brief*, be speedy, quick about it.

46. *perpetual rest.* The folios read 'nere-changing night.' It is hard to say which is the worse phrase. See i. 4. 47.

51. *two mirrors*, two glasses reflecting his likeness, Edward and Clarence. The Duchess has forgotten Rutland. Malone compares Lucrece, 1758–64, where the same figure is employed by Lucretius in apostrophizing his daughter's body:

'Poor broken glass, I often did behold
In thy sweet semblance my old age new born;
But now that fresh fair mirror, dim and old,
Shows me a bare-boned death by time outworn:
O, from thy cheeks my image thou hast torn,
And shiver'd all the beauty of my glass,
That I no more can see what once I was!'

57. *husband.* The quartos have 'children.'

61. *overgo*, exceed, surpass. See Sonnet ciii. 7:

'A face
That overgoes my blunt invention quite.'

66. *lamentation*, as a word of five syllables, makes up half the verse. See above, l. 38.

68. *reduce*, bring back, as into the ocean. For this sense of 'reduce' see v. 5. 36.

69. *That I . . . moon* &c. The queen wishes herself a sea, that being fed by the streams which flow into it her eyes might give expression to her grief in tears 'of so floodgate and o'erbearing nature' that they would drown the world. The figure is extravagant enough; but, as Johnson remarks, 'the introduction of the moon is not very natural,' and does not help the figure at all, unless we suppose that the queen desires to find a period to her sorrows in madness, when like the sea to which she compares herself she would be subject to the influences of the moon.

Ib. the watery moon, controlling the ebb and flow of tides; elsewhere (Hamlet, i. 1. 118, 119) called

'The moist star
Upon whose influence Neptune's empire stands.'

Compare Midsummer Night's Dream, ii. 1. 103: 'The moon, the governess of floods,' and 162,

'Quench'd in the chaste beams of the watery moon.'

80. *moans.* The folios have 'greefes' or 'griefs.'

81. *Their woes are parcell'd* or divided among them severally; mine are general and include them all. There is a reference to the old division of land, part of which was parcelled out among individuals and the rest was held in common by the community. The same idea occurs in Macbeth, iv. 3. 196:

'What concern they?
The general cause? or is it a fee-grief
Due to some single breast?'

84, 85. *and so do I; I for an Edward weep.* These words are omitted in the folios, making the passage absolute nonsense.

89–100. Dor. *Comfort . . . throne.* These two speeches are found in the folios only. They could well be spared even in this scene.

95. *For.* See i. 1. 58.

101. *Madam.* The folios make him fulfil his promise of calling her 'Sister.' See i. 1. 109. The appearance of Gloucester in this scene is unhistorical. He was in the north when he received the news of his brother's death. See Hall's Chronicle, Edward V, p. 347.

103. *cure their harms.* The folios have 'helpe our harmes.' See note on 'help' in this sense, iv. 4. 131.

112. *cloudy,* sullen, moody. Compare Macbeth, iii. 6. 41:

'The cloudy messenger turns me his back.'

And 1 Henry IV, iii. 2. 83:

'Slept in his face, and render'd such aspect
As cloudy men use to their adversaries.'

117. *The broken rancour* must properly mean the breach caused by rancour.

Ib. hearts. The folios read 'hates.'

118. *splinter'd,* bound up with splints, like a broken limb. Compare Othello, ii. 3. 329: 'This broken joint between you and her husband entreat her to splinter.'

121. *from Ludlow,* which being on the marches of Wales, was the proper residence of the Prince. 'The younge kynge at the deathe of his father kepte housholde at Ludlowe, for his father had sente hym thether for Iustice to be dooen in the Marches of Wales, to the ende that by the autoritee of his presence, the wilde Welshemenne and eiuell disposed personnes should refrain from their accustomed murthers and outrages.' (Hall's Chronicle, Edward V, p. 347.) He was in the charge of earl Rivers.

121. *fetch'd.* The folios have 'fet,' which is the form both of the past tense and past participle in Early English. In the Authorised Version of 1611 'fet' occurs several times, but always for the preterite. For instance, in 2 Samuel ix. 5: 'Then King David sent, and fet him out of the house of Machir.' In the Geneva Version of Deuteronomy xix. 12, it is found for the infinitive: 'Then the Elders of his citie shall send and fet him thence.' Shakespeare again uses it for the participle in Henry V, iii. 1. 18:

'Whose blood is fet from fathers of war-proof.'

123–140. Riv. *Why . . . say I.* These speeches are in the folios only.

129. *as please himself,* as it may please himself. So in As You Like It,

Epilogue, 14: 'I charge you, O women, . . . to like as much of this play as please you.'

130. *apparent*, evident, manifest. See iii. 5. 30.

133. *compact*, with the accent on the last syllable, as it is everywhere else in Shakespeare except 1 Henry VI, v. 4. 163:

'And therefore take this compact of a truce.'

See Julius Cæsar, iii. 1. 215:

'But what compact mean you to have with us?'

137. *haply*, perchance. So Mark xi. 13; 'He came, if haply he might find anything thereon.'

142. *Ludlow*. The folios have 'London,' as again in l. 154, which is clearly a mistake.

143. *mother*. Here again the folios have 'sister.' See l. 101. In the following line they omit 'weighty,' reading 'business' as a trisyllable.

145. The folios omit this line.

147. *be behind*. The folios have 'stay at home.'

148. *sort occasion*, arrange an opportunity. See ii. 3. 36, and compare Lucrece, 899:

'When wilt thou sort an hour great strifes to end?'

149. *index*, an introduction or prelude. Compare iv. 4. 85, and Hamlet, iii. 4. 52:

'Ay me, what act,
That roars so loud, and thunders in the index?'

150. *king*. The folios have 'Prince,' as in 146.

151. *consistory*, a court of assembly; properly a spiritual court. Cotgrave (Fr. Dict.) gives, 'Consistoire: m. A Consistorie: a Counsell house of, or Counsell held by, Prelats; a session, sitting, or assemblie of Ecclesiasticall persons.' The expression is copied in The Ghost of Richard the Third (Shakespeare Society), p. 33:

'My working head (my counsells consistory).'

Scene III.

1. *Neighbour, well met*. The folios have 'Good morrow Neighbour.'

2. *I promise you*, I assure you. See i. 4. 65.

4. *by 'r lady*, by our lady: printed in the old copies, 'byrlady,' and sometimes 'birlady' or 'berlady.'

Ib. seldom comes the better. A proverbial expression which occurs in Heywood's Three Hundred Epigrammes, vpon three hundred prouerbes (1562), 111 (Spenser Soc. ed. p. 144).

'*The better cumth seldome.*

Séeldome cumth the better, come or go who will,
One nayle drieuth out an other, wée se still.'

5. *troublous*, altered in the folios to 'giddy,' perhaps on account of the occurrence of 'troublous' in l. 9.

11. *Woe to that land that's govern'd by a child!* See Ecclesiastes x. 16, quoted in The Vision of Piers Plowman (B text), prol. 190:

'þere þe catte is a kitoun . þe courte is ful elying;
þat witnisseth holiwrite . who-so wol it rede,
Ve terre vbi puer rex est, &c.

The text is quoted again by Buckingham in his speech at the Guildhall, 'Wo to that realme whose kyng is a child' (Hall, p. 371), and in his conversation with Morton Bishop of Ely, 'I remembred an olde prouerbe worthy of memorye, that often ruithe the realme, where chyldren rule, and women gouerne.' (Ibid. p. 386.)

13. *nonage*, minority. Cotgrave (Fr. Dict.) has 'Pupilarité: f. Nonnage.'

15. *shall then and till then*; that is, himself shall then, in his ripened years, and council under him shall till then govern well.

16. *Henry* must here be a trisyllable. See iv. 2. 99.

21. *virtuous uncles*, the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester.

28. *brothers*. See note on i. 3. 67. For 'sons and brothers' the quartos read 'kindred,' and 'hauty' for 'haught.'

Ib. haught, haughty. Compare 3 Henry VI, ii. 1. 169:

'The proud insulting queen,
With Clifford and the haught Northumberland.'

30. *solace*, have comfort, take delight. Compare Cymbeline, i. 6. 86:

'What,
To hide me from the radiant sun and solace
I' the dungeon by a snuff.'

And Ben Jonson, Sad Shepherd, ii. 1:

'Under whose shade I solace in the heat.'

35. *make* is the reading of all the quartos but the eighth, and of all the folios but the first. These have 'makes,' which is given as an instance of the survival of a plural in 's' in Shakespeare's time. See Abbott, § 333.

38. *souls*. The folios read 'hearts' and transpose 'dread' and 'fear' in this line and l. 40.

39. *cannot almost* = can scarcely. So in Othello, iii. 3. 66:

'And yet his trespass, in our common reason—
Save that, they say, the wars must make examples
Out of their best—is not almost a fault
To incur a private check.'

And Comedy of Errors, v. i. 181:

'I have not breathed almost since I did see it.'

See note on Coriolanus, i. 3 24 (Clarendon Press ed.). For 'almost reason' the folios have 'reason (almost).'

Ib. reason. See i. 4. 154.

41. This speech of the Third Citizen, as Tollet pointed out, was apparently suggested by a passage in More's Richard the Third, quoted by Holinshed, iii. 721 : 'Yet began there here and there abouts, some maner of muttering among the people, as though all should not long be well, though they neither wist what they feared, nor wherefore : were it, that before such great things, mens hearts of a secret instinct of nature misgiue them ; as the sea without wind swelleth of himselfe sometime before a tempest.' Hall, who copies the same passage, has a very odd mistake, for instead of 'the sea without wind,' he substitutes 'the south wynde.'

43. *Ensuing dangers.* The folios read 'Pursuing danger,' although in the first folio the catchword on the previous page is 'Ensuing.'

Ib. by proof, by experience. See Julius Cæsar, ii. 1. 31.

Scene IV.

Enter the Archbishop of York, &c. The folios have simply 'Arch-bishop,' and the quartos 'Cardinall.' The Archbishop was Thomas Rotherham, Lord Chancellor of England. He was made Cardinal of St. Cecilia about 1480. (See French, Shakspeareana Genealogica, p. 218.)

1, 2. The reading in the text is that of the quartos. The folios transpose Northampton and Stony-Stratford, as if Northampton were a stage nearer to London than the latter place, and read the lines thus :

'Last night I heard they lay at Stony Stratford,
And at Northampton they do rest to-night.'

This reading corresponds with the rumour which reached the Archbishop on the night that the queen took sanctuary. 'The same night there came to docter Rotheram Archebyshop of Yorke and lorde Chauncelour, a messenger from the lord Chambrelayne to Yorke place besyde Westminster : the messenger was brought to the bishoppes bedsyde, and declared to him that the dukes were gone backe with the young kyng to Northampton.' (Hall's Chronicle, Edward V, p. 350.) 'And furthwith they arrested the lorde Rychard and sir Thomas Vaugham & sir Richard Hawte Knyghtes, in the kyngs presence, & broughte the kyng and all back to Northampton.' (Ibid. p. 349.) The house is still shown at Stony Stratford, where tradition says the young king lodged.

9. *cousin.* See ii. 2. 8.

13. Compare Heywood's Proverbs (Spenser Society ed.), p. 164 :

'Ill weede growth fast, that is showyng
In the show of thy fast growyng.'

20. *if this rule were true.* The first and second quartos have 'if this were a true rule'; the folios, 'if his rule were true.'

Ib. gracious, full of grace, virtuous. So in Hamlet, v. 2. 86 :

'*Ham.* Dost know this water-fly ?

Hor. No, my good lord.

Ham. Thy state is the more gracious.'

23. *had been remember'd*, had remembered. So As You Like It iii. 5. 131:

'And, now I am remember'd, scorn'd at me.'

24. *a flout*, a mocking jest. Compare Love's Labour's Lost, v. 2. 854:

'The world's large tongue
Proclaims you for a man replete with mocks,
Full of comparisons and wounding flouts.'

28. Richard was born, 'as the fame ranne, not vntothed' (Hall's Chronicle, Edward V, p. 343). See also 3 Henry VI, v. 6. 75:

'The midwife wonder'd, and the women cried
"O, Jesus bless us, he is born with teeth!"'

35. *parlous*, dangerous, mischievous; a corruption of 'perilous.' In iii. 1. 154 most of the old copies read 'perilous' or 'perillous.' See As You Like It, iii. 2. 45: 'Thou art in a parlous state, shepherd.'

Ib. shrewd, sharp-tongued; literally, mischievous. See note on Midsummer Night's Dream, iii. 2. 323, and compare The Taming of the Shrew, i. 1. 185:

'Her eldest sister is so curst and shrewd';

that is, she was ill-tempered and a scold.

36. *Good madam*, &c. The folios give this speech to the Duchess.

37. *Pitchers have ears*, a common proverb, quoted again in The Taming of the Shrew, iv. 4. 52. The full form is usually 'Little pitchers have large ears,' to which is sometimes added 'and wide mouths.'

42. *Lord Rivers and Lord Grey*, &c. 'The duke of Gloucester sent ye lorde Ryuers, the lord Richard and Sir Thomas Vaugham, and sir Richarde Hawte into the Northparties into diuerse prisons, but at last, al came to Pountfret where they all foure were beheaded without iudgement.' (Hall's Chronicle, Edward V, p. 350.)

45. *Gloucester and Buckingham*. At the time of the king's death Buckingham was on the Welsh Marches and Richard at York. They met at Northampton, each with a strong body of horse, on the day that the young king left for Stony Stratford. See Hall, Edward V, pp. 347–350.

51. *to jet* is commonly to strut, to walk proudly, to throw the body about in an affected manner; and hence it has been supposed to have in this passage the secondary sense of to be ostentatious. But 'jet' and 'jut,' which represents the reading of the folios, are the same in origin, and signify to stick out, project, and so, to encroach upon. So Cotgrave interprets the French Iettée, 'a iettie or iuttie, a bearing out or leaning ouer in buildings.' Compare Titus Andronicus, ii. 1. 64:

'Think you not how dangerous
It is to jet upon a prince's right?'

And again in the old play of Sir Thomas More (Shakespeare Society), p. 2: 'It is hard when Englishmens pacience must be thus jetted on by straungers.'

52. *aweless*, inspiring no awe or reverence.

59. *to joy and weep their gain and loss*, to rejoice in their gain and weep for their loss. For this kind of distribution compare ii. 3. 15, and Macbeth, i. 3. 60, 61:

'Speak then to me, who neither beg nor fear
Your favours nor your hate.'

62, 63. *blood . . . self.* The folios have

'Brother to Brother;
Blood to blood, selfe against selfe.'

65. *death.* The folios read 'earth.' See Preface, p. lx.

66. *will to sanctuary.* See i. 1. 107. According to the history the Archbishop's interview with the Queen was not till after the latter had taken refuge in the Sanctuary. When the news reached her that the King was in the hands of the Duke of Gloucester, and that her brother and son were arrested, says Sir Thomas More, she 'gate her selfe in al the haste possible with her yonger sonne and her doughters out of the Palyce of Westminster in whiche shee then laye, into the Sainctuarye, lodginge her selfe and her coumpanye there in the Abbotes place.' The Archbishop came to Westminster before daybreak, and the scene he there witnessed is admirably described by More. 'Hee tooke the greate Seale with him, and came yet beefore daye vnto the Queene. Aboute whome he found muche heauinesse, rumble, haste and businesse, carriage and conueyaunce of her stuffe into Sainctuary, chestes, coffers, packes, fardelles, trusses, all on mennes backes, no manne vnoccupyed, somme lading, somme goynge, some descharging, somme commynge for more, somme breakinge downe the walles to bringe in the nexte waye, and somme yet drewe to them that holpe to carrye a wronge waye. The Quene her self satte alone alowe on the rishes all desolate and dismayde.' (More, Workes, p. 43.) The Dean of Westminster suggests (History of Westminster Abbey, p. 368) that after the interview she withdrew into the fortress of the Sanctuary itself.

70. 'And here is the great Seale, whiche in like wise as that noble prince your housebande deliuered it vnto me, so here I deliuer it vnto you, to the vse and behoofe of youre sonne, and therewith hee betooke her the greate Seale, and departed home agayne, yet in the dauninge of the daye.' (More, p. 43.)

ACT III.

Scene I.

The Lord Mayor met the young king at Hornsey Park, on Sunday 4 May, 1483.

1. *to your chamber.* Compare Buckingham's speech to the citizens as reported by More (p. 63): 'this noble citye, as his special chamber.' According to Camden (Britannia, p. 427, trans. Holland, ed. 1637), London acquired this title soon after the Conquest. See Ben Jonson, Part of King James's Entertainment, in passing to his coronation.

2. *cousin.* See note on ii. 2. 8.

9. *distinguish of a man.* Compare Hamlet, iii. 2. 69:

'Since my dear soul was mistress of her choice
And could of men distinguish.'

10. *God he knows.* See l. 26. The pronoun is redundant, as in Joshua xxii. 22: 'The Lord God of Gods, the Lord God of Gods, he knoweth, and Israel he shall know.'

11. *jumpeth*, agreeth, accordeth. So 1 Henry IV, i. 2. 78: 'And in some sort it jumps with my humour as well as waiting in the court.'

13. *sugar'd words.* See i. 3. 242, 1 Henry VI, iii. 3. 18, and 3 Henry VI, iii. 2. 45. Mr. Rushton (Notes and Queries, 4th series, x. 369) compares Spenser, Faery Queen, iii. 6. 25:

'So her she soone appeasd
With sugred words and gentle blandishment.'

22. *a slug.* Compare Comedy of Errors, ii. 2. 196:

'Dromio, thou drone, thou snail, thou slug, thou sot.'

30. *perforce.* See i. 1. 116.

31. *peevish.* See i. 3. 194.

32. *Lord cardinal.* Thomas Bourchier, or Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1454 to 1486. He was made Cardinal in 1464 by Pope Paul II, but did not assume the title till the following year (Hook, Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, v. 345). In Holinshed (p. 717, col. 1) it is Richard and not Buckingham who suggests that the Cardinal should take upon him the office of persuading the queen to give up her son. 'Wherefore me thinketh it were not worst to send vnto the queene, for the redresse of this matter, some honorable trustie man, such as both tendereth the kings weale and the honour of his councell, and is also in fauour and credence with her. For all which considerations, none seemeth more meetlie, than our reuerend father here present, my lord cardinall, who may in this matter doo most good of anie man, if it please him to take the paine. In More's narrative, which Holinshed copies, it is left uncertain who the

'Lord Cardinal' is, and in the sequel we find that the Archbishop of York undertakes the mission. But in the corresponding passage of Hall's Chronicle the Cardinal is expressly identified as the Archbishop of Canterbury, who 'tooke vpon hym to moue her, and therto to do his vttermooste endeuoure. Howbeit yf she coulde in no wise be intreated with her good wyll to delyuer hym, then thought he and such of the spiritualtie as wer present, that it were not in any wyse too bee attempted to take hym out againste her wyll, for it woulde be a thynge that should turne to the grudge of all men and high displeasure of God, yf the pryuilege of that place should be broken . . . and therefore quod the Archebishop, God forbid that any manne shoulde for any yearthely enterprise breake the immunite and libertie of that sacred sanctuary.' (Hall's Chronicle, Edward V, p. 352.)

39. *Anon.* Steevens would omit this word.

44. Buckingham's speech is almost literally from Holinshed (p. 718): 'I haue often heard of sanctuarie men, but I neuer heard earst of sanctuarie children. And therefore, as for the conclusion of my mind, who so maie haue deserued to need it, if they thinke it for their suertie, let them keepe it. But he can be no sanctuarie man, that neither hath wisdome to desire it, nor malice to deserue it; whose life or libertie can by no lawfull processe stand in ieopardie. And he that taketh one out of sanctuarie to doo him good, I saie plainlie, that he breaketh no sanctuarie.'

Ib. senseless-obstinate, unreasonably obstinate.

46. *Weigh it but with the grossness of this age.* Johnson explains, 'compare the act of seizing him with the gross and licentious practices of these times, it will not be considered as a violation of sanctuary, for you may give such reasons as men are now used to admit.' He here in reality gives two interpretations, which turn upon the different meanings of which the expression 'weigh with' is capable: weigh this act against the violent practices of these times, and so, compare it with them; or, weigh it as such actions are weighed in this gross age, and so, estimate it by that standard. Mr. Grant White understands by 'grossness' the gross judgement, the blunted perception of this age. See note on 'gross,' iii. 6. 10.

63. *it seems.* So the first and second quartos. The rest have 'thinkst,' and the folios 'think'st.' Sidney Walker conjectured 'thinks.' See note on Hamlet, v. 2. 63 (Clarendon Press ed.).

66. *and shall be thought,* that is, and where it shall be thought &c.

68. *of any place,* of all places I dislike the Tower most. For the construction compare Macbeth, v. 8. 4:

'Of all men else I have avoided thee';

and 2 Henry VI, i. 3. 167:

'That York is most unmeet of any man,'

which might have been expressed by 'more unmeet than any man,' or 'most unmeet of all men.' See also the quotation from Holinshed given

above in note on l. 32: 'who may in this matter doo most good of anie man.'

69. *Julius Cæsar.* See Richard II, v. 1. 2:

'This is the way
To Julius Cæsar's ill-erected tower.'

'Iohn Lydgate, Iohn Rouse and others write, that Iulius Cæsar builded in this lande the Castels of Douer, of Canturburie, Rochester and the Towre of London, the Castell and towne of Cæsars Burie, taking his name after Cæsar, the which is now called Salisburie.' (Stow's Chronicles, ed. 1580, p. 34.)

71. *re-edified*, rebuilt. This word only occurs again in Titus Andronicus, i. 1. 351:

'This monument five hundred years hath stood,
Which I have sumptuously re-edified.'

Compare Spenser, Faery Queen, ii. 10. 46:

'The ruin'd wals he did reædifye
Of Troynovant.'

'Edify' was formerly used not unfrequently in its literal sense as equivalent to 'build.' So we find it in Spenser's archaic language (Faery Queen, i. 1. 34):

'A litle wyde
There was an holy chappell edifyde.'

72. *record*, with the accent on the last syllable, as in iv. 4. 28, v. 3. 335, and Hamlet, i. 5. 99:

'I'll wipe away all trivial fond records.'

Ib. or else. 'Else' is redundant, as in The Taming of the Shrew, iv. 5. 71:

'But is this true? or is it else your pleasure,
Like pleasant travellers, to break a jest
Upon the company you overtake?'

See also Genesis xlii. 16: 'Or else by the life of Pharaoh surely ye are spies.'

77. *retailed*, related, reported. See iv. 4. 335, and 2 Henry IV, i. 1. 32:

'And he is furnish'd with no certainties
More than he haply may retail from me.'

79. *So wise, so young, they say, do never live long.* This sentiment is attributed by Pliny to Cato the Censor. 'For Cato that famous Censor, writing to his sonne as touching this argument, hath delivered, as it were out of an Oracle, that there is an observation of death to be collected even in them that are in perfect health. For (saith hee) youth resembling age, is an undoubted signe of untimely death, or short life.' (Nat. Hist. vii. 51, Holland's trans.)

81. *characters* has the accent on the second syllable only in this passage in Shakespeare. In Hamlet, i. 3. 59, the verb has the same accent:

'And these few precepts in thy memory
See thou character.'

Ib. lives long. This expression must be what Richard refers to when he says that he moralizes two meanings in one word. The young king had caught the concluding words of his former speech, and Gloucester, suspecting this, repeats them in a phrase of different purport.

82. *the formal vice, Iniquity.* 'Formal' appears to be used very much as we now use 'conventional,' to describe that which was regular and in accordance with ordinary rule and custom. The Vice of the stage was a familiar figure to the audience, and they were thoroughly accustomed to his proceedings. He is to some extent represented in modern times by the harlequin of the pantomime, whom Douce regards as his illegitimate descendant. Shakespeare again refers to this character in Hamlet, iii. 4. 98, 'a vice of kings,' that is, a mere buffoon among kings; and Twelfth Night, iv. 2. 134:

'Like to the old Vice . . .
Who, with dagger of lath,
In his rage and his wrath,
Cries ah, ha! to the devil.'

With this compare 2 Henry IV, iii. 2. 343: 'And now is this Vice's dagger become a squire'; the wooden sword or dagger being an invariable part of the Vice's equipment. Again, in 1 Henry IV, ii. 4. 499, Prince Hal calls Falstaff 'that reverend vice, that grey iniquity,' with a side reference to the well-known figure on the stage. The Vice appears to have been first introduced in the early moral plays in which he is found always in company with the Devil, who was a survival from the ancient mysteries. 'It was a prety part,' says Harsnet (Declaration of Popish Imposture, p. 114), 'in the old Church-playes, when the nimble Vice would skip vp nimbly like a Iacke an Apes into the deuils necke, and ride the deuil a course, and belabour him with his woodden dagger, til he made him roare, wherat the people would laugh to see the deuil so vice-haunted.' But in the end virtue, as represented by the Devil, triumphed, and the Vice was carried by a fiend to hell. We learn further from Harsnet that he had a cap with ass's ears, and from Ben Jonson (The Devil is an Ass, i. 1) that he wore a 'long coat,' or 'a juggler's jerkin, with false skirts, like the knave of clubs' (The Staple of News, II, Intermean), and that besides acting the part of Iniquity he appeared as 'Fraud, or Covetousness, or lady Vanity.' In The Trial of Treasure he is Inclination; in Lupton's All for Money he appeared as Sin, and in Tom Tiler as Desire. In later plays he was introduced alone, as Ambidexter in Cambyses, without his companion the Devil, but his business still being to make the audience laugh he became simply the buffoon or jester. It would appear from the present passage that one of his devices for effecting this object was to play upon the double meanings of words. In Holland's Pliny, vii. 48,

'vice' is the rendering of the Latin *mima*: 'Lucèia a common vice in a play, followed the stage and acted thereupon 100 yeeres.'

83. *I moralize two meanings in one word.* As the moral of any circumstance or narrative is the meaning which lies hidden in it, to 'moralize' signifies to draw out or interpret this meaning. Compare As You Like It, ii. 1. 44:

'Did he not moralize this spectacle?'

that is, deduce from it some moral sense. And hence, to expound generally, as in Lucrece, 104:

'Nor could she moralize his wanton sight.'

And The Taming of the Shrew, iv. 4. 81:

'*Bion.* Faith, nothing; but has left me here behind, to expound the meaning or moral of his signs and tokens.

Luc. I pray thee, moralize them.'

Richard is afraid that his villainy should not be sufficiently apparent, and in his 'Asides' to the audience becomes his own expositor.

91. *An if,* redundantly used for 'if'; 'an' or 'and' and 'if' being equivalent. Compare 'for because,' and 'or ere.' See below l. 148, The Tempest, v. 1. 117, Midsummer Night's Dream, ii. 2. 153, &c.

94. *lightly*, generally, usually. So in Holland's Pliny, vii. 50: 'But in this place, observed usually it is by experience, That a pestilence beginning in the South parts, goeth alwaies toward the West; and never lightly but in winter, neither continueth it above three moneths.'

Ib. Enter young York &c. In the history the young Duke was brought to his uncle in the Star chamber and afterwards taken to join his brother at the Bishop of London's palace at St. Paul's.

96. *our loving brother.* The folios here read 'our Noble brother,' and in the following line substitute 'deare' for 'dread.'

99. *late*, lately, recently. See ii. 2. 149.

114. *which is no grief to give*, to part with which causes no regret.

121. *I weigh it lightly*, I think it but a trifling gift.

123. *as you call me.* The folios have 'as, as,' apparently to indicate a hesitation on the part of the speaker. But this makes the verse redundant.

130, 131. *like an ape* &c. Johnson says, 'The reproach seems to consist in this: at country shows it was common to set the monkey on the back of some other animal, as a *bear*. The Duke therefore in calling himself *ape* calls his uncle *bear*.' Douce thinks that, as the monkey was frequently the companion of the domestic fool, and would often get upon his shoulders, 'York may thereupon mean to call his uncle a fool.' (Illustrations of Shakespeare, ed. 1833, p. 336.)

132. *sharp provided*, quick and ready.

147. *Nor none.* So in Midsummer Night's Dream, iii. 2. 135:

'*Lys.* I had no judgement when to her I swore.
Hel. Nor none, in my mind, now you give her o'er.'

150. Stage direction. 'A Sennet' was a set of notes played on a trumpet as the signal for the arrival or departure of a procession. See notes on Macbeth, iii. 1. 10 (Clarendon Press edition), and King Lear, i. 1. 35.

152. *incensed*, instigated, provoked. Compare Much Ado, v. 1. 242: 'How Don John your brother incensed me to slander the Lady Hero.' Nares (Glossary, s. v.) considers that here 'incense' = insense, which in Staffordshire provincial usage means to instruct or inform, and not to stimulate or provoke. But although this may be the meaning in Henry VIII, v. i. 43,

'I think I have
Incensed the lords o' the council, that he is . . .
A most arch heretic,'

the usual signification of the word gives very good sense in the present passage.

154. *parlous*. See ii. 4. 35.

155. *capable*, quick of apprehension. Compare Troilus and Cressida, iii. 3. 310: 'Let me bear another to his horse; for that's the more capable creature.'

157. *let them rest*, let them be. See 2 Henry VI, i. 3. 95:

'So, let her rest: and, madam, list to me.'

158. *Thou art sworn*. These words should perhaps be placed by themselves, or, omitting 'hither,' be read with the previous line.

159. *closely*, secretly.

164. *the seat royal*. Compare Hall's Chronicle (Richard III, p. 375): 'and the morow after, he was proclaymed kyng and with great solempnite rode to Westminster, and there sate in the seate roial.'

165. *for his father's sake*. See the quotation from Holinshed in the note on i. 1. 77.

169 &c. See quotation from Hall's Chronicle in the Preface, p. xvi.

172, 173. *And summon . . . coronation*. Omitted in the quartos, which read:

'Well then no more but this:
Go gentle Catesby, and as it were a farre off,
Sound thou Lo: Hastings, how he stands affected
Vnto our purpose, if he be willing,
Encourage him &c.'

176. *icy-cold*. Dr. Ingleby conjectured that these words should be connected by a hyphen. In the old copies they are separated by a comma.

177. *your talk*. The folios have 'the talk.' The MS. had probably 'y^{r}' or 'y^{e}.'

179. *divided councils*. 'When the protectour had both the chyldren in his possession, yea & that they were in a sure place, he then began to

thirst to se the ende of his enterprise. And to auoyde all suspicion, he caused all the lordes whiche he knewe to bee faithfull to the kyng to assemble at Baynardes Castle to commen of the ordre of the coronacion, whyle he and other of his complices & of his affinitee at Crosbies place contriued the contrary and to make the protectour kyng: to which counsail there were adhibite very fewe, and they very secrete.' Hall's Chronicle, Edward V, p. 358. In Holinshed's narrative (p. 721, col. 2), which is here taken from More, we read the further particulars, 'But the protector and the duke, after that they had sent the lord cardinall, the archbishop of Yorke then lord chancellor, the bishop of Elie, the lord Stanleie, and the lord Hastings then lord chamberlaine, with manie other noble men to common and deuise about the coronation in one place, as fast were they in an other place, contriuing the contrarie, and to make the protector king.'

185. *Mistress Shore.* According to Hall (Chronicle, Edward V, p. 363) who follows Sir Thomas More, 'When the kynge dyed, the lorde Hastynges toke her, whiche in the kynges dayes albeit that he was sore enamoured with her yet he forbare, either for a pryncely reuerence or for a certayne frendely faithfulnesse.' See also p. 360.

Ib. gentle. The quartos read 'gentile,' a spelling which illustrates the quibble in The Merchant of Venice, ii. 6. 51, between 'gentile' and 'gentle':

'Now, by my hood, a Gentile and no Jew.'

190. *Crosby Place.* The folios have 'Crosby House.' See note on i. 2. 212.

192. *complots,* plots. See line 200 and 2 Henry VI, iii. i. 147:

'I know their complot is to have my life.'

Besides these passages the word only occurs in Shakespeare in Titus Andronicus. Cotgrave has, 'Complot: m. A complot, conspiracie, couin, confederacie, packe, or compacting together.'

193. *Chop . . . do.* The folios read,

'Chop off his Head:
Something wee will determine.'

194, 195. *claim thou of me,* &c. See iv. 2. 94. See Holinshed (p. 721, col. 2): 'Then it was agreed, that the protector shuld haue the dukes aid to make him king, and that the protectors onlie lawful sonne should marrie the dukes daughter, and that the protector should grant him the quiet possession of the earldome of Hereford, which he claimed as his inheritance, and could neuer obteine it in king Edwards time. Besides these requests of the duke, the protector of his owne mind promised him a great quantitie of the kings treasure, and of his houshold stuffe.' Buckingham claimed the earldom of Hereford in virtue of his descent from Thomas of Woodstock, who married Eleanor daughter and coheiress of Humphrey de Bohun.

196. *stood possess'd.* The folios have 'was possest,' and in the two following lines read 'hand' and 'kindnesse.'

Scene II.

See the quotation from Hall in the Preface. The date of the scene was Friday, 13 June, 1483.

6. *thy master.* So the quartos. The folios have 'Lord Stanley,' reading as prose.

7. *should seem.* The folios have 'appeares.'

10, 11. *And then . . . the boar,* &c. The folios read,

'Then certifies your Lordship, that this night
He dreamt, the Bore had rased off his Helme.'

11. *razed.* In the passage of Hall from which this scene is taken the same expression is used: 'he thought that a bore with hys tuskes so rased them bothe by the heades that the bloud ran aboute bothe their shoulders.'

Ib. helm, helmet. So in Coriolanus, iv. 5. 131:

'Unbuckling helms, fisting each other's throat.'

12. *two councils held.* See iii. 1. 179, and Hall, Edward V, p. 359: 'In so much as the lorde Stanley whiche afterwarde was erle of Derby wysely mistrusted it and saied to the lord Hastynges, that he muche misliked these two seuerall counsailes, for while we quod he talke of one matter at the one place, litle wote we whereof they talke in the other.'

Ib. held. The folios read 'kept.'

16. *presently you will.* The folios have 'you will presently.'

25. *wanting instance,* having no motive to cause them. Compare Henry V, ii. 2. 119:

'But he that temper'd thee bade thee stand up,
Gave thee no instance why thou shouldst do treason.'

26, 27. *so fond To trust,* &c., so foolish as to trust, &c. So in The Merchant of Venice, iii. 3. 9, 10:

'I do wonder,
Thou naughty gaoler, that thou art so fond
To come abroad with him at his request.'

30. *make pursuit.* See i. 3. 71.

34. *My gracious lord, I'll tell him,* &c. The folios have 'Ile goe, my Lord, and tell him,' &c.

40. *wear the garland,* or crown. Compare 2 Henry IV, iv. 5. 202:

'So thou the garland wear'st successively.'

And Buckingham's speech as given in Hall's Chronicle, Edward V, p. 370: 'In whose tyme, and by whose occasion, what about the gettyng of the garlande, kepyng it, lesyng and winnynge agayn, it hath coste more Englishe blud then hath the twise winnynge of Fraunce.'

47. *Upon his party.* See i. 3. 138.

52. *still,* constantly. Compare The Merchant of Venice, iii. 2. 74:

'The world is still deceived with ornament.'

Ib. mine enemies. The folios have 'my adversaries,' perhaps on account of the occurrence of 'enemies' in l. 49. See iii. 1. 182.

53. *voice*, vote. See iii. 4. 20.

58. *in.* See i. 2. 260.

60–62. The folios read,

'Well *Catesby*, ere a fort-night make me older.'

72. *the bridge.* London Bridge, where the heads of traitors were exposed on a tower which stood at the north end of the drawbridge. When this was taken down they were placed over the gate at the Southwark end. See Knight's London, vol. i. p. 82.

77. *by the holy rood!* The rood was the cross or crucifix which was generally placed in churches over the screen dividing the nave from the chancel.

79–82. *My lord . . . now.* The folios read in three lines,

'My Lord, I hold my Life as deare as yours,
And neuer in my dayes, I doe protest,
Was it so precious to me, as 'tis now.'

91. *the day is spent.* Yet the scene is supposed to open at four in the morning. This is not in the quartos, which read,

'But come my Lo: shall we to the tower?
Hast. I go: but stay, heare you not the newes,
This day those men you talkt of, are beheaded.'

92. *have with you*, come along, let me go with you. See note on Coriolanus, ii. 1. 260 (Clarendon Press edition).

Ib. Wot, know; from *wát*, the preterite of A.S. *witan* to know, used as a present tense. Compare the Greek *οἶδα* and Latin *novi*. The 3rd person singular is therefore wrongly inflected 'wots' or 'wotteth.' See note on Midsummer Night's Dream, iv. 1. 163 (Clarendon Press ed.).

96. Enter a Pursuivant. According to More (see quotation from Hall in the Preface) his name also was Hastings. A 'pursuivant' was a messenger or attendant upon a herald. See iii. 4. 90, v. 3. 59. Cotgrave has 'Poursuivant d'armes. A Herauld extraordinarie, or yong Herauld, a Batcheler in the art of Heraudrie; one thats like to be chosen when a place falls.'

103. *the suggestion*, the prompting or urging; used in a bad sense. Compare Macbeth, i. 3. 134:

'Why do I yield to that suggestion
Whose horrid image doth unfix my hair?'

And Lear, ii. 1. 75;

I 'ld turn it all
To thy suggestion, plot, and damned practice.'

108. *Gramercy*, from Fr. *grand merci*, much thanks. Compare The Merchant of Venice, ii. 2. 128: 'Gramercy! wouldst thou aught with me?'

109. *God save your lordship!* The folios have 'I thanke your Honor,' which, having regard to lines 107 and 110, cannot be considered as an instance of the scrupulous care which the editor of the folio exercised in correcting the quartos.

111. *Sir John.* As a title of priests 'Sir' was applied to those who had taken the bachelor's degree at a University. See note on As You Like It, iii. 3. 34, 'Sir Oliver Martext.'

112. *I am . . . exercise.* So the folios. The quartos read, 'I am beholding to you for your last daies exercise.'

Ib. exercise appears to have had the technical sense of an exposition of scripture, such as was also called 'prophesying,' and is described in Archbishop Grindal's letter to Queen Elizabeth. (Remains, Parker Soc. Publ. pp. 383-5.)

113. *I will content you,* I will satisfy you, pay you. 'Content,' like 'gratify' (Merchant of Venice, iv. 1. 406), was a euphemistic word. Compare Othello, iii. 1. 1:

'Masters, play here: I will content your pains.'

Ib. Enter Buckingham. According to Hall's narrative this conversation was held with Sir Thomas Howard, who appears in the play as Earl of Surrey.

116. *no shriving work,* no work that needs confession. Compare Hamlet, v. 2. 47:

'He should the bearers put to sudden death,
Not shriving time allow'd.'

'Shrive' is from the A. S. *scrifan,* to receive confession, to impose penance.

122. *stay dinner.* So in Romeo and Juliet, iv. 4. 150: 'Come, we'll in here; tarry for the mourners, and stay dinner.'

Scene III.

The date of this scene is the same as that of the last, according to the Chronicle which the dramatist followed. But Rivers did not make his will till June 23, ten days after the death of Hastings, and was probably beheaded about June 25. (See Gairdner, Richard the Third, 91, 92.)

1. Rat. *Come . . . prisoners.* Omitted in the folios.

2. *Sir Richard Ratcliff* was governor of Pomfret. See French's Shakespeareana Genealogica, p. 234.

5. *God keep the prince.* For 'keep' the folios read 'blesse.' Compare Coriolanus, i. 3. 48:

'Heavens bless my lord from fell Aufidius!'

8. *limit,* assigned period. So in Richard II, i. 3. 151:

'The dateless limit of thy dear exile.'

11. *closure*, enclosure, compass. See Sonnet xlviii. 11:

'Within the gentle closure of my breast.'

12. *Richard the second.* See Richard II, v. 5.

15. *Margaret's curse.* See i. 3. 210, &c.

16. After this line the folios insert,

'When shee exclaim'd on *Hastings* you, and I.'

17, 18. In the folios 'Hastings' and 'Richard' are transposed in these lines.

17. *Buckingham.* In the previous scene Margaret specially excepts Buckingham from her curse. See i. 3. 280–284:

'Thy garments are not spotted with our blood,
Nor thou within the compass of my curse.'

It is only when he rejects her solemn warning that she includes him in a general malediction with the rest.

23. *expiate*, terminated. A doubtful word which occurs again in Sonnet xxii. 4:

'Then look I death my days should expiate.'

For 'expiate,' which is the reading of the first folio only, the later folios have 'now expir'd.' Steevens conjectured 'expirate,' which was adopted by Singer. The quartos read the whole line differently,

'Come, come, dispatch, the limit of your lives is out.'

But this is too much a repetition of l. 8.

24. *all.* The folios read 'here,' and for the next line have

'Farewell, vntill we meet againe in Heauen.'

Scene IV.

The Tower of London. The scene is laid in the great room in the upper story of the White Tower, which was formerly the Council chamber.

Enter . . . table. The stage direction in the folios is 'Enter Buckingham, Darby, Hastings, Bishop of Ely, Norfolke, Ratcliffe, Louell, with others, at a Table.' The quartos have simply, 'Enter the Lords to Councell.'

The time of this scene, according to Hall (see Preface), was 9 o'clock in the morning of Friday June 13, 1483. Richard's second appearance was between 10 and 11 o'clock.

1. *My lords, at once.* The folios read, 'Now Noble Peeres.' For 'at once,' in the sense of 'without more ado,' compare 2 Henry VI, iii. 1. 66:

'My lords, at once: the care you have of us . . .
Is worthy praise.'

2. *to determine of*, to decide about. See Coriolanus, ii. 2. 41: 'Having determined of the Volsces.'

4. *Are all things fitting*, &c. The folios have 'Is all things ready,' having regard to Derby's answer. Compare 2 Henry VI, iii. 2. 11: 'Is all things well?'

8. *inward*, intimate, familiar. Compare Bacon, Essay xi. p. 42 (ed.

Wright): 'A Servant, or a Favorite, if hee be inward, and no other apparant Cause of Esteeme, is commonly thought but a By-way, to close Corruption.'

10–13. *Who, I, my lord! . . . mine.* So the quartos. The folios read,

'We know each others Faces: for our Hearts,
He knowes no more of mine, then I of yours,
Or I of his, my Lord, then you of mine.'

19. *noble.* The folios have 'Honorable.'

20. *voice.* See iii. 2. 53.

22. *Now in good time.* See iii. 1. 95. The folios have 'In happie time.'

25. *neglect*, cause to be neglected.

27. *upon your cue.* The last words of a speech, which indicate to an actor when his part is coming, are called his 'cue' (Fr. *queue*, a tail). See Midsummer Night's Dream, iii. 1. 103. Compare Henry V, iii. 6. 130: 'Now we speak upon our cue, and our voice is imperial'; that is, now that the right time has come for us to speak. For this use of 'upon,' compare Hamlet, i. 1. 6: 'You come most carefully upon your hour.'

28. *part.* Another players' word.

32. The folios omit the words given to Hastings and the Bishop of Ely.

Ib. My lord of Ely. John Morton, Bishop of Ely, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Sir Thomas More in his younger days lived in his household, and is supposed to have been indebted to him for much of the details in his Life of Richard the Third. The incident of the strawberries, which is related by More, shews that Richard affected to be in an unusually good humour that morning.

33, 34. *in Holborn . . . in your garden there.* Ely Place still remains as evidence that the palace of the Bishops of Ely occupied its site. Sir Christopher Hatton lived and died there, and from him what was formerly the garden of the palace acquired the name of Hatton Garden.

36. *Marry, and will*, &c., and so I will. Compare Troilus and Cressida, iii. 2. 142:

'*Cres.* Stop my mouth.
Tro. And shall, albeit sweet music issues thence.

40. *As.* The folios read 'That.' The same change is made in the folios of Hamlet, ii. 1. 95:

'He raised a cry so piteous and profound
As it did seem to shatter all his bulk.'

41. *son.* The folios have 'child,' and 'worshipfully' for 'worshipful.'

43. *Withdraw . . . you.* The folios read,

'Withdraw your selfe a while, Ile goe with you.'

45. *mine opinion.* The folios have 'my iudgement.'

47. *prolong'd*, postponed. So in Much Ado about Nothing, iv. 1. 256:

'This wedding day
Perhaps is but prolong'd.'

50. *cheerfully and smooth.* See i. 1. 22.

Ib. to-day. The folios read 'this morning,' a change for which there appears to be no obvious reason.

51. *some conceit*, some conception or idea, something in his mind. See The Merchant of Venice, iii. 4. 2:

'You have a noble and a true conceit
Of godlike amity.'

Ib. likes, pleases. Compare Troilus and Cressida, v. 2. 102: 'But that that likes not you pleases me best.'

52. *When he doth bid*, &c. The folios have 'When that he bids good-morrow with such spirit,' and in l. 54, 'Can lesser' for 'That can less.' All the quartos except the eighth read 'That can lesser.'

57. *By any likelihood*, or sign from which any probable inference could be drawn. Compare All's Well, i. 3. 128: 'Many likelihoods informed me of this before.' The folios in the present passage read 'liuelyhood.'

60. Derby's speech is omitted in the folios.

63, 64. *prevail'd Upon.* See i. 1. 131.

69. *this ill.* The folios read 'their euill.'

73. *Consorted*, associated. See iii. 7. 137, and Romeo and Juliet, ii. 1. 31:

'Come, he hath hid himself among these trees,
To be consorted with the humorous night.'

77. *Tellest thou me of 'ifs'?* See quotation from Hall in the Preface, p. xxii.

78–80. The text is here from the folios. The quartos read,

'Off with his head. Now by Saint Paule,
I will not dine to day I sweare,
Vntill I see the same, some see it done.'

80. *Lovel and Ratcliff.* Theobald substituted 'Catesby' for 'Ratcliff,' who at this very time was at Pomfret, carrying out the sentence of execution upon the three lords who suffered there. The stage-direction of the quartos at l. 81, 'Exeunt. manet Cat. with Ha.,' justifies Theobald's alteration here. But in the next scene Ratcliff and Lovel are made to appear with Hastings's head, while Catesby overlooks the walls of the Tower. If we imagine that Catesby left the stage for this purpose, although there is no exit marked in the old copies, we may explain the confusion by supposing that the same player took the parts both of Ratcliff and Catesby.

83. *fond*, foolish. See iii. 2. 26.

84. *raze his helm.* See iii. 2. 11. The folios have 'rowse our Helmes.'

85. In this line the folios read,

'And I did scorne it and disdaine to flye.'

86. *my foot-cloth horse.* Compare 2 Henry VI, iv. 1. 54:

'Bare-headed plodded by my foot-cloth mule.'

A foot-cloth was the name given to the housings or caparison of a horse,

which being long and coming nearly to the ground was only adapted for quiet riding. One of Cade's charges against Lord Say was that he rode 'in a foot-cloth' (2 Henry VI, iv. 7. 54):

'*Say.* What of that?

Cade. Marry thou oughtest not to let thy horse wear a cloak, when honester men than thou go in their hose and doublets.'

Bacon, in his will, says, 'I give to Mr. Thomas Meautis, some jewel, to be bought for him, of the value of fifty pounds, and my foot-cloth horse.' (Letters and Life, ed. Spedding, vii. 542.)

87. *startled*, started, as the folios and two latest quartos read. Compare As You Like It, iv. 3. 13:

'Patience herself would startle at this letter.'

89, 90. See iii. 2. 100–110.

91, 92. The folios read,

'As too triumphing, how mine Enemies
To-day at Pomfret &c.'

94. *thy heavy curse.* See i. 3. 302.

96. *Dispatch, my lord.* The folios read, 'Come, Come, dispatch.' This speech is given by the quartos to 'Cat.' that is, Catesby. See above, l. 80.

97. *shrift*, confession. See note on iii. 2. 116, and Romeo and Juliet, ii. 5. 68:

'Have you got leave to go to shrift to-day?'

98. *momentary*, lasting but a moment, short-lived. Compare Midsummer Night's Dream, i. 1. 143, where the folios read,

'Making it momentarie, as a sound.'

104–107. Lov. *Come . . . upon.* Omitted in the quartos, inasmuch as in those copies Lovel does not appear at all in the scene.

Scene V.

Enter Gloucester. . . . The folios have this stage direction, except that they put 'Richard' for 'Gloucester.' It is taken from the narrative of More as given in Hall's Chronicle, Edward V, p. 362: 'hymselfe with the duke of Buckyngham stode, harnessed in olde euill fauored briganders.' See the Preface, p. xxiii.

4. *distraught*, distracted. See Romeo and Juliet, iv. 3. 49:

'O, if I wake, shall I not be distraught,
Environed with all these hideous fears?'

5. *Tut.* So the folios. The quartos have 'Tut feare not me.'

Ib. the deep tragedian. Buckingham appears to have had a gift for what is now called melodrama.

7. *wagging*, moving; generally of moving backwards and forwards. But in Titus Andronicus, v. 2. 87, it is used as here:

'The empress never wags
But in her company there is a Moor.'

8. *Intending*, pretending, counterfeiting. Compare Lucrece, 121:

'Intending weariness with heavy spright.'

10–21. In the first quarto the passage stands as follows:

'And both are ready in their offices
To grace my stratagems. *Enter Maior.*
Glo. Here comes the Maior.
Buc. Let me alone to entertaine him. Lo: Maior,
Glo. Looke to the drawbridge there.
Buc. The reason we have sent for you.
Glo. Catesby ouerlooke the wals.
Buck. Harke, I heare a drumme.
Glo. Looke backe, defend thee, here are enemies.
Buc. God and our innocence defend vs. *Enter Catesby*
Glo. O, O, be quiet it is Catesby. *with Hast. head.*'

13. Enter the Mayor . . . The Lord Mayor of London on this occasion was, according to Hall, Edmund Shaa or Shaw, the brother of Dr. Ralph Shaw, who is mentioned at l. 103, and was chaplain and confessor to Edward IV.

27. *Made him my book*, &c. Compare Coriolanus, v. 2. 14, 15:

'I have been
The book of his good acts.'

30. *apparent*, manifest. See ii. 2. 130, and King John, iv. 2. 93: 'It is apparent foul play.'

31. *conversation*, intercourse. Compare Hamlet, iii. 2. 60:

'Horatio, thou art e'en as just a man
As e'er my conversation coped withal.'

Ib. Shore's wife. See iii. 1. 185, and the quotation from Hall in the Preface, p. xxii.

32. *from*, free from.

Ib. attainder, staining, taint, such as would rest upon a man convicted of such a charge. Compare Richard II, iv. 1. 24:

'Either I must, or have mine honour soil'd
With the attainder of his slanderous lips.'

Ib. suspect, suspicion. See i. 3. 89.

33. *covert'st*, most secret. See Julius Cæsar, iv. 1. 46:

'How covert matters may be best disclosed.'

With 'covert'st shelter'd' compare 'plainest harmless,' l. 25, the first word in each case being an adverb.

35. *almost*, even. Compare King John, iv. 3. 43:

'Or could you think?
Or do you almost think, although you see,
That you do see?'

40. *What, had he so?* The folios read 'Had he done so?'

43. *to.* The folios have 'in.'

44. *extreme* has the accent on the first syllable, as it always has in Shakespeare, except Sonnet cxxix. 4, 10. See iv. 4. 185, and 1 Henry IV, i. 3. 31:

'When I was dry with rage and extreme toil.'

47. *fair befall.* See i. 3. 282.

48. *you my good lords.* The folios have 'your good Graces.'

50, 51. *I never . . . Shore.* These two lines, as well as Gloucester's speech which follows, are given in the folios to Buckingham.

53. *death.* The folios read 'end.'

55. *Somewhat against our meaning.* The folios read 'Something against our meanings.'

Ib. have prevented. The incorrect construction is due to the intervention of the plural 'friends' between the subject and the verb.

56. *We would have had you heard.* Keightley conjectured 'hear,' and this no doubt is the correct construction. Dr. Abbott (Shakespeare Grammar, § 411) thinks that it is more probably for 'we would have had you (to have) heard.' Compare Hall's Chronicle, p. 418: 'Many whiche had leuer had the kyng destroyed then saued.'

60. *haply*, perchance. So the folios. In the quartos it is spelt 'happily.' See Twelfth Night, iv. 2. 57, where the first folio reads, 'That the soule of our grandam, might happily inhabite a bird.'

61. *Misconstrue.* In most of the old copies spelt 'misconster,' as it was pronounced. So in As You Like It, i. 2. 277, the folios read,

'Yet such is now the Dukes condition,
That he misconsters all that you haue done.'

63. *as I*, as if I. Compare Julius Cæsar, iii. 1. 98:

'Men, wives and children stare, cry out and run
As it were doomsday.'

64. *doubt you not.* The folios have 'doe not doubt.'

66. *cause.* The folios read 'case.' In Bacon's Advancement of Learning, Book II, 23, § 5, p. 220, there is a similar instance of the interchange of these words: 'So as there is a wisdom of counsel and advice even in private causes, arising out of an universal insight into the affairs of the world; which is used indeed upon particular cases propounded, but is gathered by general observation of cases of like nature.' In the first edition (1605) 'cases' is the reading where the word first occurs, while the other editions read 'causes'; while on the second occasion of its occurrence all the early editions read 'causes.' See note in the Clarendon Press edition.

9. *Untainted*, not stained by any charge of crime. See note on 'attainder,' iii. 5. 32.

10. *Why, who's so*, &c. For this the folios read 'Who is so, &c.'

Ib. gross, dull of perception. Compare Henry V, iv. i. 299:

'The slave, a member of the Country's peace,
Enjoys it; but in gross brain little wots
What watch the king keeps to maintain the peace.'

12. *who's so blind* to the danger of observing it. The folios alter this to 'Who so bold.'

14. *bad*, changed in the folios to 'ill,' probably on account of the occurrence of the word in the previous line.

Ib. must be seen in thought and not spoken of.

Scene VII.

Buckingham's speech was delivered in the Guildhall on Tuesday, June 17, 1483 (Hall's Chronicles, Edward V, p. 368).

1. *my lord.* The folios repeat 'How now,' as shewing greater impatience on Richard's part.

3. *mum* is elsewhere in Shakespeare used as an interjection, enjoining silence.

Ib. and speak. The folios have only 'say.'

5, 6. *his contract . . . France.* Omitted in the quartos.

5. *contract* has the accent on the last syllable, as in Romeo and Juliet, ii. 2. 117:

'I have no joy of this contract to-night.'

Ib. Lady Lucy. See the quotation from Hall given in the Preface.

6. *in France*, to the lady Bona. See 3 Henry VI, iii. 3.

8. *And . . . wives.* Omitted in the quartos.

11. *And . . . duke.* Omitted in the quartos.

12. *infer.* See iii. 5. 75. In the history this point is urged in Dr. Shaw's sermon at Paul's Cross: 'This is (quod he) the fathers awne figure, this is his awne countenaunce, the verie print of his visage, the sure vndoubted ymage, the playne expresse likenesse of that noble duke.' (Hall, p. 368.)

13. *idea*, image. Compare Much Ado, iv. 1. 226:

'The idea of her life shall sweetly creep
Into his study of imagination.'

15. *in Scotland.* Richard commanded the army which invaded Scotland in 1482. See Holinshed, p. 705.

18. *the purpose.* The folios read 'your purpose.'

20. *And when . . . end.* The folios have 'And when my Oratorie drew toward end.'

23. *Ah!* Omitted in the folios.

24. *they spake not a word.* Omitted in the quartos.

25. *statuës*, a trisyllable, as in Julius Cæsar, ii. 2. 76:

'She dréamt to-night she saw my statuë.'

See note in the Clarendon Press edition.

Ib. This incident is also taken from the account of Shaw's sermon as related by Hall from More: 'But the people wer so far from criynge kynge Richard, that they stoode as they had been turned into stoones for wonder of this shamefull sermonde.' (p. 368.)

Ib. breathing stones, endowed with life but without the power of speech. The later quartos read 'breathlesse.'

26. *Gazed.* The folios read 'Star'd.'

30. *the recorder* at this time was Thomas Fitz-William.

32. *inferr'd.* See above, l. 12.

34. *some followers of mine own.* 'A bushement of the dukes seruauntes and one Nashfeelde and other belonging to the protectour with some prentices and laddes.' (Hall.)

35. *At the lower end.* The folios omit 'the.' Compare iii. 5. 2; Coriolanus, iv. 5. 204: 'At upper end o' the table,' and see note on The Tempest, ii. 2. 59 (Clarendon Press ed.).

37. *And thus . . . few.* Not in the quartos.

40. *your wisdoms.* The folios have the singular, but in such cases the plural is very commonly employed. See note on 'behaviours' in Julius Cæsar, i. 2. 42 (Clarendon Press ed.). The later quartos also read 'loves' for 'love.'

43. Buckingham's speech is omitted in the folios.

45. *intend.* See iii. 5. 8.

48. *churchmen*, ecclesiastics. Compare 2 Henry VI, i. 3. 72: 'Beaufort the imperious churchman.' And Bacon, Essay viii. p. 27 (ed. Wright): 'A Single Life doth well with Churchmen: for Charity will hardly water the Ground, where it must first fill a Poole.'

49. *on that ground I'll build a holy descant.* See note on 'descant,' i. 1. 27, the 'ground' here being the same as the plainsong there mentioned.

51. *the maid's part*, who 'whispering "I will ne'er consent," consented.' Compare The Passionate Pilgrim, 340:

'Have you not heard it said full oft,
A woman's nay doth stand for nought.'

Ib. still answer nay, and take it. The quartos read, 'say no, but take it.'

53. *As I can say nay to thee for myself.* Richard was confident of being able to play his part in the farce without rehearsal.

56. *Welcome, my lord.* The quartos have 'Now my Lord Maior.'

Ib. I dance attendance. I wait to be admitted. See Henry VIII, v. 2. 31:

'To dance attendance on their lordships' pleasures,
And at the door too, like a post with packets.'

57. *withal*, with, at the end of a clause. See Abbott, § 196.

58, 59. *Here . . . he?* So the quartos. The folios read,

'Now Catesby what sayes your Lord to my request?'

59. *My lord . . . grace.* The folios read, 'He doth intreat your Grace, my Noble Lord.'

65. *to thy lord again.* The folios have 'to the gracious Duke,' and in the next line read 'Aldermen' for 'Citizens.'

67. *In deep designs and matters*, &c. The folios read, 'In deepe designes, in matter &c.'

70. *I'll . . . my lord.* The folios have 'Ile signifie so much vnto him straight.'

72. *lolling.* Spelt 'lulling' in all the early copies.

Ib. day-bed, a couch or sofa, used generally for the after-dinner nap. Compare Twelfth Night, ii. 5. 54: 'Having come from a day-bed, where I have left Olivia sleeping.' And Heywood, The second part of the Iron Age, v. 1 (Works, iii. 415):

'To tumble with her on a soft day-bed.'

The folios in the present passage read 'love-bed.'

76. *to engross*, to fatten, pamper. Harrison, in his description of England (New Shakspere Society ed. p. 142), says of the Scotchmen: 'They far exceed vs in ouer much and distemperate gormandize, and so ingrosse their bodies that diuerse of them doo oft become vnapt to anie other purpose than to spend their times in large tabling and bellie chere.'

81. *God forbid.* The folios read 'God defend' (Fr. *défendre*), as in l. 173, and Richard II, i. 3. 18:

'Which God defend a knight should violate!'

See the note on the latter passage in the Clarendon Press edition. Pope substituted 'God shield' on account of the metre, forgetting that 'Marry' is frequently counted as a monosyllable.

82–84. The folios have here,

'*Buck.* I feare he will: here *Catesby* comes againe.

Enter Catesby.

Now *Catesby*, what sayes his Grace?

Catesby. He wonders &c.'

85. *speak with.* The folios read 'come to.'

87. *My lord, he fears.* The folios have 'He fears, my lord.'

90. *I come . . . to him.* So the quartos. The folios alter to 'we come to him in perfit love,' thus avoiding the same ending as in the previous line.

93. *beads* of the rosary, so called because they were used for counting the number of prayers (A. S. *béd*, a prayer) recited. See 2 Henry VI, i. 1. 27:

'In courtly company or at my beads.'

And in the same play, i. 3. 59:

'To number Ave-Maries on his beads.'

Ib. hard. The folios have 'much.' Compare 1 Henry VI, iv. i. 192:

'Tis much when sceptres are in children's hands.'

94. Enter Gloucester, &c. The introduction of the Bishops is due to Hall, and is not mentioned by Holinshed: 'At the last he came out of his chambre, and yet not doune to theim, but in a galary ouer them with a bishop on euery hand of him' (p. 372). Delius identifies them with Dr. Shaw and Friar Penker, but these were not Bishops.

95. *See . . . clergymen.* The folios have, 'See where his Grace stands, tweene two Clergie men.'

98, 99. *And, see . . . man.* Omitted in the quartos.

99. *ornaments.* Dyce corrected this to 'ornament,' but the plural includes the attendant bishops.

Ib. to know a holy man, that is, to know a holy man by. For the omission of the preposition in such cases, compare Julius Cæsar, i. 2. 314:

'Thy honourable metal may be wrought
From that it is disposed.'

And see the note on that passage in the Clarendon Press edition.

107. *Neglect.* The folios read 'Defert'd.'

112. *disgracious*, wanting in grace, unpleasing. See iv. 4. 177.

118. *supreme* has the accent on the first syllable, as in ii. 1. 13. Compare King John, iii. 1. 155:

'But as we, under heaven, are supreme head.'

Ib. majestical, majestic, belonging to majesty or royalty. Compare Henry V, iv. 1. 284:

'Not all these laid in bed majestical,
Can sleep so soundly as the wretched slave.'

120. *Your state . . . birth.* Omitted in the quartos.

125. *This . . . her proper limbs.* The folios read 'The' for 'This' and 'his' for 'her' in this and the following line, a change which could hardly have been a correction by the author.

127. *Her . . . plants.* Omitted in the quartos. Pope corrected the 'His' of the folios to 'Her.'

Ib. graft, the participle of the verb 'to graff' (Fr. *greffer*). Compare 2 Henry VI, iii. 2. 214:

'Thy mother took into her blameful bed
Some stern untutor'd churl, and noble stock
Was graft with crab-tree slip.'

The modern verb to 'graft' has been formed from the participle, as 'hoist' from 'hoise.' Malone points out that there is a reference in this line to the text from which Dr. Shaw preached his famous sermon at Paul's Cross, 'Bastarde slippes shall neuer take depe roots.' (Hall, p. 367.)

128. *shoulder'd*, thrust violently out of place, as by one shouldering another in a crowd. See Drayton, Polyolbion, i. 500:

'So that his violent fall,
Strooke Neptune with such strength, as shouldred him withall;
That where the monstrous waues like Mountaines late did stand,
They leap't out of the place, and left the bared sand.'

And Spenser, Ruines of Rome, l. 213:

'Like as ye see the wrathfull Sea from farre
In a great mountaine heap't with hideous noyse,
Eftsoones of thousand billowes shouldred narre,
Against a Rocke to breake with dreadfull poyse.'

Ib. in, into. See i. 2. 260.

129. *Of blind forgetfulness and dark oblivion.* The folios change this to

'Of darke Forgetfulnesse, and deepe Obliuion.'

If Shakespeare authorised this alteration it can hardly be said that his second thoughts were best.

130. *to recure*, to cure, heal again. Cotgrave gives 'Recurer. To recure, to heale againe.' Compare Venus and Adonis, 465:

'A smile recures the wounding of a frown.'

In Spenser 'recure' is used as the equivalent of 'recover.' See Faery Queen, iv. 6. 9:

'And, if I hap to fayle, you shall recure my right.'

And iv. 8. 44:

'But ere his hand he could recure againe
To ward his bodie from the balefull stound.'

131, 132. For *the charge . . . land* the quartos read 'the soueraingtie thereof.'

135. *successively*, in due order of succession and inheritance. Compare 2 Henry IV, iv. 5. 202:

'For what in me was purchased,
Falls upon thee in a more fairer sort,
So thou the garland wear'st successively.'

136. *empery*, empire, dominion. Cotgrave has, 'Empire: m. An Empire or Emperie.' Compare Cymbeline, i. 6. 120:

'A lady
So fair, and fasten'd to an empery,
Would make the great'st king double.'

137. *consorted*. See iii. 4. 73.

141. *I know not whether to depart*, &c. The folios have 'I cannot tell if to depart, &c.' an alteration which fits more closely with 'If not to answer' in l. 144, which with the following lines down to l. 153 is omitted in the quartos. When these were struck out for the purpose of shortening the play, l. 141 was perhaps altered as we find it in the quartos.

144. *If not to answer* best fitted the occasion.

150. *I check'd my friends*. For this use of the indicative for the subjunc-

tive see 2 Henry VI, iii. 2. 399, and note on Coriolanus, iv. 6. 112 (Clarendon Press ed.):

'For his best friends, if they
Should say "Be good to Rome," they charged him even
As those should do that had deserved his hate.'

155. *unmeritable*, devoid of merit, undeserving. See Julius Cæsar, iv. 1. 12:

'This is a slight unmeritable man.'

158. *my ripe revenue*, the possession ready for me to inherit. This reading is that of the first quarto only. The other quartos have 'my right revenue,' and the folios 'the ripe revenue,' the latter also reading consequently 'of birth' instead of 'by birth.'

161. *As*, that, which is the reading of the folios. See iii. 4. 40.

Ib. had rather. The folios have 'would rather.'

166. *And much . . . need were*. Johnson interprets this, 'And I much need the ability requisite to give you help, if help were needed.'

168. *stealing*, stealthily moving. Compare Hamlet, v. 1. 79:

'But age, with his stealing steps,
Hath claw'd me in his clutch.'

And Comedy of Errors, iv. 2. 60:

'Have you not heard men say,
That Time comes stealing on by night and day?'

175. *the respects thereof*, the considerations by which you support your argument. Compare Hamlet, iii. 1. 68:

'There's the respect
That makes calamity of so long life.'

Ib. nice, fanciful, insignificant. Compare Romeo and Juliet, v. 2. 18:

'The letter was not nice, but full of charge.'

179. *contract*, contracted, betrothed. This form of the participle does not occur again in Shakespeare. We have elsewhere 'contracted,' as in Lear, v. 3. 228:

'I was contracted to them both; all three
Now marry in an instant.'

181. *by substitute*, by proxy, or deputy. Compare The Merchant of Venice, v. 1. 94:

'A substitute shines brightly as a king
Until a king be by.'

183. See 3 Henry VI, iii. 2.

Ib. put by, set aside. The folios have 'put off.'

184. *a many*. This use of 'many' with the indefinite article was once common, and still survives in provincial usage. Compare The Merchant of Venice, iii. 5. 73:

'I do know
A many fools, that stand in better place,

Garnish'd like him, that for a tricksy word
Defy the matter.'

For 'of a many children,' the folios read 'to a many sonnes.' Buckingham, being an orator, puts in this touch on his own authority. Lady Grey had three children only by her first husband, a daughter and two sons. See 3 Henry VI, iii. 2. 29. The sons appear in the present play as the Marquis of Dorset and Lord Grey; the daughter probably died young.

188. *pitch* was a technical word denoting the highest point in the flight of a hawk or falcon. Compare 1 Henry VI, ii. 4. 11:

'Between two hawks, which flies the higher pitch.'

And 2 Henry VI, ii. 1. 6:

'But what a point, my lord, your falcon made,
And what a pitch she flew above the rest!'

Hence used metaphorically, as in Hamlet, iii. 1. 86, where the quartos read,

'And enterprises of great pitch and moment.'

Ib. of all his thoughts. The folios read 'of his degree.'

189. *To base declension and loathed bigamy.* Marriage with a widow was regarded as bigamy by the canon law, as was also a second marriage of any kind. Shakespeare has here followed the narrative of More (copied by Hall), in which the Duchess of York, who was strongly opposed to the marriage of Edward with Elizabeth Grey, urged this as an argument against it. 'The onely widowhed of dame Elizabeth Grey (although she were in all other poinctes and thynges conuenient for you) should suffice as me thynketh to refrain you from her mariage, sith it is an vnfittying thynge and a greate blemishe to the sacred maiestie of a prince, that ought as nere to approche priesthode in clennesse, as he doeth in dignitie, to be defiled with bigamy in his first mariage.' (Hall's Chronicle, Edward V, p. 366.)

192. *expostulate*, set forth in detail. Compare Two Gentlemen of Verona, iii. 1. 251:

'The time now serves not to expostulate.'

So also 3 Henry VI, ii. 5. 135:

'Nay, stay not to expostulate, make haste.'

And Hamlet, ii. 2. 86:

'To expostulate
What majesty should be, what duty is,
Why day is day, night night, and time is time,
Were nothing but to waste night, day and time.'

See also Beaumont and Fletcher, The Queen of Corinth, iv. 4:

'Crates, to expostulate your wrongs to me
Were to doubt of 'em.'

193. *for reverence to some alive*, remembering Richard's caution, iii. 5. 93, 94.

198. *to draw . . . ancestry.* The quartos read 'to draw out your royall stocke.'

202. The quartos omit Buckingham's speech.

204. *these cares.* The folios have 'this care.'

205. *majesty.* The reading of the folios. The quartos have 'dignitie.'

207. *I cannot nor I will not.* Compare, for the double negative, Venus and Adonis, 409:

'I know not love, quoth he, nor will not know it.'

211. *remorse,* pity, tenderness of feeling; not, as in modern usage, compunction. Compare Macbeth, i. 5. 45:

'Stop up the access and passage to remorse.'

213. *egally* is modernised to 'equally' in the later quartos and folios. In The Merchant of Venice, iii. 4. 13, the first folio reads,

'Whose soules doe beare an egal yoke of loue.'

Compare also Titus Andronicus, iv. 4. 4: 'egal justice.' 'Egal' (Fr. *égal*) appears to have been the earliest form of the word, but 'equally' is found in Chaucer (Sompnoures Tale, l. 7819), though in the Parson's Tale he uses 'egalness' for 'equality.' Nares quotes from Puttenham's Arte of English Poesie (1589), Book I. ch. 20 (p. 57, ed. Arber): 'In euerie degree and sort of men vertue is commendable, but not egally: not onely because mens estates are vnegall, but for that also vertue it selfe is not in euery respect of egall value and estimation.'

214. *Yet whether you accept,* &c. The folios have 'Yet know, where you accept,' &c. 'where' being the abbreviated form of 'whether.' See 229.

219. *'zounds! I'll entreat,* &c. The folios change this to 'we will entreat,' to avoid the penalties of the Act of Parliament, and of course omit the following line.

220. Exit . . . In the quartos Buckingham and the citizens do not leave the stage.

221. *Call them.* The folios have 'Call him,' and for the sake of the metre omit 'and.'

222. Another. The quartos have 'Ano.', but the folios continue the speech to Catesby, reading

'If you denie them, all the Land will rue it.'

224. *Well,* omitted in the folios.

Ib. stones. Compare Lear, v. 3. 257:

'Howl, howl, howl, howl! O, you are men of stones!'

In both passages Pope substituted 'stone.'

225. *entreats,* altered in the folios to 'entreaties.' The word occurs twice in Titus Andronicus, i. 1. 449, 'Yield at entreats'; and l. 483, 'at my lovely Tamora's entreats.'

229. *whether,* printed 'where' in the first folio, as is frequently the case

when it is pronounced as a monosyllable. See above, l. 214, Abbott, § 466, and note on Julius Cæsar, i. 1. 62 (Clarendon Press ed.).

233. *acquittance*, acquit. In Theobald's Shakespeare Restored, pp. 8–11, many examples are given of verbs formed from substantives.

235. *God he knows.* See iii. 1. 10. The folios have 'God doth know.'

239. *kingly.* The folios have 'Royall.'

240. *Long live . . . king.* The folios read,

'Long liue King Richard, Englands worthie King.'

247. *Farewell, good cousin.* This is of course addressed to Buckingham. The folios have altered it to 'Farewell my Cousins.'

ACT IV.

Scene I.

Johnson suggested that this Scene should be added to the previous Act, so as to give time for the Coronation in the interval, which took place on Sunday, 6 July, 1483.

1. *niece* is here used for 'granddaughter' as 'nephew' for 'grandson.' In the earlier of the Wicliffite Versions of Genesis xxxi. 43 we find, 'and what may Y do to my sones, and to my neces?' as the rendering of the Vulgate, 'quid possum facere filiis et nepotibus meis?' Compare Holland's Pliny, vii. 13: 'C. Crispinus Helarus, a gentleman of Fesulæ, came with a solemne pompe caried before him into the Capitoll, attended upon with his nine children, seuen sonnes and two daughters; with seven and twentie nephewes, the sonnes of his children: and nine and twentie nephewes more, once removed, who were his sonnes nephewes, and twelue neeces besides, that were his childrens daughters, and with all these solemnly sacrificed.' In the stage direction Theobald was the first to add 'leading Clarence's young Daughter,' in order to give effect to this line and the following.

2–6. *Led . . . day.* Omitted in the quartos.

2. *in the hand.* Compare Genesis xxi. 18: 'Arise, lift up the lad, and hold him in thine hand'; which does not mean that Hagar was to carry Ishmael in her arms but to lead him by the hand.

4. *princes* is the reading of Theobald. The quartos and folios have 'Prince.' The change was made on account of ll. 10, 14, but it is not absolutely necessary.

10. *gratulate*, congratulate. So in Titus Andronicus, i. 1. 221:

'To gratify the good Andronicus,
And gratulate his safe return to Rome.'

Compare Marston, Antonio and Mellida (ed. Halliwell), p. 2:

'The prince of Millane, and young Florence heir,
Approach to gratulate your victorie.'

And Ford, Lover's Melancholy, i. 1:

'Dangers! how mean you dangers? that so courtly
You gratulate my safe return from dangers?'

11. Enter Brakenbury. The first and second quartos have 'Enter Lieutenant'; the others, 'Enter the Lieutenant of the Tower.' The folios have 'Enter the Lieutenant.'

14. *How . . . York?* The quartos have only 'How fares the Prince?'

15. *By your patience*, by your leave. See Coriolanus, i. 3. 81: 'Indeed, no, by your patience; I'll not over the threshold till my lord return from the wars.' In the present passage the quartos read

'Well madam, and in health, but by your leave,' &c.

17. *straitly*, strictly, which is the reading of the folios. See i. 1. 85.

18. *why*, omitted in the folios, as are the words 'I cry you mercy' in the next line.

22. *should keep*. The folios read 'shall barre.'

25. *sights*. See note on Richard II, iv. 1. 315 (Clarendon Press ed.):

'Whither you will, so I were from your sights.'

For 'Then bring me to their sights' the quartos read 'Then feare not thou.'

27, 28. *No . . . me*. For these lines the quartos have,

'I doe beseech your graces all to pardon me:
I am bound by oath, I may not doe it.'

31. *reverend* is the spelling of the folios. The quartos have 'reuerente' or 'reuerent.' See note on Richard II, v. 6. 25.

34. *in sunder*. The folios have 'asunder'; the prefix 'a' being the remains of a preposition. Compare 'asleep' and 'on sleep.'

35. *swoon*, spelt 'sound' in the quartos. The folios have the modern form. See note on As You Like It, iii. 5. 17.

36. *dead-killing*. Compare Lucrece, 540:

'Here with a cockatrice' dead-killing eye
He rouseth up himself and makes a pause.'

37. Anne. *Despiteful . . . news!* Omitted in the quartos.

38. *Be . . . mother*. The quartos read 'Madam, have comfort.'

39. *hence*. The folios have 'gone.'

40. *dog*. The folios read 'dogges' or 'dogs'; a not uncommon construction, 'death and destruction' being considered as one idea.

42. *cross* may either be a verb or a preposition, as in 2 Henry VI, iv. 1. 114:

'I charge thee waft me safely cross the channel.'

43. *with Richmond*, who after the battle of Tewkesbury fled with his uncle Jasper Earl of Pembroke and took refuge in Brittany.

46. *Margaret's curse*. See i. 3. 209.

49. *hours.* The quartos read 'time.

50. *my son.* Thomas Lord Stanley had married the Lady Margaret, and was therefore Richmond's stepfather. See note on i. 3. 20.

51. *To meet . . . you.* The folios read

'In your behalfe, to meet you on the way.'

52. *ta'en tardy,* caught lagging.

55. *cockatrice.* See the quotation from Lucrece above, l. 36, and note on i. 2. 150. Compare also Twelfth Night, iii. 4. 215: 'This will so fright them both that they will kill one another by the look; like cockatrices.'

59. *inclusive,* encircling.

60. *round,* surround, encompass. Compare Richard II, iii. 2. 161:

'The hollow crown
That rounds the mortal temples of a king.'

61. *red-hot steel.* Steevens says, 'She seems to allude to the ancient mode of punishing a regicide, or any other egregious criminal, viz. by placing a crown of iron, heated red-hot, upon his head.'

Ib. sear, scorch, burn. So in Macbeth, iv. 1. 113: 'Thy crown does sear mine eyeballs.'

62. *Anointed.* The anointing was one of the most important parts of the coronation ceremony. See Dean Stanley's Memorials of Westminster Abbey, p. 42 (ed. 1868). In Hall's account of the coronation of Richard and his queen (Chronicle, Richard III, pp. 375, 376) it is said: 'After diuerse songes solemply songe, they bothe discended to the highe altare and were shifted from their robes, and had diverse places open from the middle vpward, in whiche places they were anointed.'

75. See i. 2. 26 &c.

76, 77. *As . . . As.* The folios read 'More. . . Then' (= Than).

76. *life.* The quartos read 'death,' as i. 2. 27.

79. *Even . . . space.* The folios have 'Within so small a time.'

80. *Grossly,* stupidly. See iii. 6. 10; and King John:

'Though you and all the Kings of Christendom
Are led so grossly by this meddling priest.'

82. *Which . . . rest.* The folios have

'Which hitherto hath held mine eyes from rest.'

83. *hour,* a disyllable, as in v. 3. 31, and Hamlet, i. 4. 3:

'*Ham.* What hour now?
Hor. I think it lacks of twelve.'

84. *Have I enjoy'd.* The folios read 'Did I enjoy.'

85. *But . . . dreams.* The folios have

'But with his timorous Dreames was still awak'd.'

Ib. his timorous dreams. In Sir Thomas More's account of Richard as given in Hall's Chronicle (Richard III, p. 379) it is said that after the murder of the princes 'he toke euill reste on nightes, laye long wakyng and musyng,

forweried with care and watche, rather slombred then slept, troubled with fearefull dreames, sodeinly somtyme stert vp, leapte out of his bed and loked about the chambre.'

93. *guard.* The folios read 'tend.'

96. *Eighty odd years.* The Duchess of York was born May 3, 1415, and therefore at the date of this scene (June 1483) was only sixty-eight. She lived for twelve years afterwards, and died at Berkhampstead in 1495.

97. *teen*, sorrow, grief. Compare Venus and Adonis, 808:

'My face is full of shame, my heart of teen.'

See note on The Tempest, i. 2. 64 (Clarendon Press ed.). It is derived from the A S. *teóna*, injury, wrong.

98–104. Q. Eliz. *Stay, . . . farewell.* Omitted in the quartos.

100. *envy*, malice, hatred. Compare Richard II, i. 2. 21:

'By envy's hand and murder's bloody axe.'

102. *ragged*, rugged, rough. See Richard II, v. 5. 21: 'My ragged prison walls'; and 2 Henry IV, Ind. 35:

'And this worm-eaten hold of ragged stone.'

104 *sorrow bids.* The first folio reads 'sorrowes.' This is another example of a very common error of the press, which might have been quoted in support of the theory of the existence of the plural in 's' in Shakespeare. See ii. 3. 35.

Scene II.

Sennet. The first folio has 'Sound a Sennet,' the rest 'Sound a Sonnet.' The quartos have simply 'The Trumpets Sound.' See note on iii. 1. 150.

Enter Richard . . . The quartos have 'Enter Richard crownd, Buckingham, with other Nobles'; the folios, 'Enter Richard in pompe, Buckingham, Catesby, Ratcliffe, Louel.'

3. For 'Here he ascendeth his throne' the folios have simply 'Sound.'

5. *honours.* The folios have 'Glories.'

8. *play the touch*, play the part of the touchstone which was used to test the genuineness of any metal which had the appearance of gold. 'The present touchstone,' according to Mr. King (Natural History of Gems, p. 153), 'is a black Jasper of a somewhat coarse grain, and the best pieces come from India.' In his last will Bacon left to his wife 'all tables of marble and towch.' Timon (iv. 3. 390) apostrophizes gold, 'O thou touch of hearts!' Compare also The Ghost of Richard the Third (Shakespeare Society), p. 14:

'Whose percell guylt my touch will not endure.'

16. *That Edward . . . prince!* Here I have ventured to restore the reading of the quartos and folios. Since the time of Theobald the line has always been printed—

'That Edward still should live! True, noble prince!'

making Richard simply repeat Buckingham's words in the sense in which he used them himself, though in a mocking tone. But where then is the 'bitter consequence,' if we thus separate the last words of the line from the preceding? It was not Buckingham's unsympathetic reply, or the mere fact that Edward lived, but that he lived as the 'true noble prince,' and legitimate heir to the Crown. Thus does Richard, 'like the formal vice, Iniquity,' again 'moralize two meanings in one word.'

20. *sayest thou?* The folios read 'say'st thou now?'

Ib. be brief, be quick. See ii. 2. 43.

24–26. *Give . . . immediately.* The folios have

'Giue me some litle breath, some pawse, deare Lord,
Before I positiuely speake in this:
I will resolue you herein presently.'

26. *resolve,* answer. See 121, and 3 Henry VI, iii. 2. 19:

'May it please your highness to resolve me now.'

27. *he bites the lip.* The folios read 'he gnawes his Lippe.' Hall (Chronicle, Richard III, p. 421) says of him, 'when he stode musing he would byte and chew besely his nether lippe, as who sayd, that his fyerce nature in hys cruell body alwaies chafed, sturred and was euer vnquiete.'

29. *unrespective,* unobservant, heedless.

30. *considerate,* thoughtful, observant.

32. *Boy!* The page here addressed was not, as Mr. French conjectures (Shakespeareana Genealogica, 242), John Green, who had been sent by Richard to sound Sir Robert Brackenbury about the murder of the princes. The two are quite distinct in Hall's narrative. See Preface, p. xxxix.

35. *close,* secret. See i. 1. 158.

36. *My lord.* Omitted in the folios.

37. *mind.* The folios read 'Spirit.'

40. *Tyrrel.* Sir James Tyrrel was the son of William Tyrrel of Gipping, who was High Sheriff of Suffolk, 24 Henry VI. See French, Genealogica Shakespeareana, p. 236, and the quotation from Hall in the Preface.

42. *witty,* sharp-witted, clever, cunning. Compare Much Ado, iv. 2. 27: 'A marvellous witty fellow I assure you.' And Lever's Sermons (ed. Arber), p. 106: 'Paule dyd dyspose the secretes of God by the preachynge of the Gospell, whych was euer secretly hydde from the wyttye, wyse, and learned in the worlde.' See also Proverbs viii. 12: 'I wisdom dwell with prudence, and find out knowledge of witty inventions'; and the quotation from Hall in the note to iv. 3. 46.

45. *And stops . . . breath?* The folios complete the line with 'Well, be it so.'

46. *How now! what news with you?* The folios have 'How now, Lord Stanley, what's the newes?'

47–53. Stan. *My lord . . . like to die.* The first quarto has here,

'*Darby.* My Lord, I heare the Marques Dorset
Is fled to Richmond in those partes beyond the seas where he abides.'

In the folios the passage stands thus:

'*Stanley.* Know my louing Lord, the Marquesse Dorset
As I heare, is fled to Richmond,
In the parts where he abides.
Rich. Come hither Catesby, rumor it abroad,
That Anne my Wife is very grieuous sicke,' &c.

52. The story of this rumour of his wife's death is told by Hall. See Preface, p. xliv.

53. *like*, likely. See iii. 2. 122.

55. *Some mean-born gentleman.* The folios for 'mean-born' read 'meane poore.'

56. The marriage was not carried out. Margaret Plantagenet, who was now not ten years old, lived to become Countess of Salisbury, and married Sir Richard Pole, whose mother was half sister to the Lady Margaret, the mother of Henry VII (Hunter, Illustrations of Shakespeare, ii. 91).

57. *The boy is foolish.* Holinshed (p. 787, col. 2) says of Edward Plantagenet Earl of Warwick that he had been 'kept in prison within the Tower almost from his tender yeares, . . . out of all companie of men & sight of beastes, insomuch that he could not discerne a goose from a capon.' The side-note to this passage is, 'Edward Plantagenet earle of Warwike a verie innocent.'

59. *my wife.* The folios here read 'my Queene.'

60. *About it.* See i. 3. 355.

Ib. it stands me much upon, it is very important for me, incumbent upon me. Compare Richard II, ii. 3. 138:

'It stands your grace upon to do him right.'

65, 66. Compare Midsummer Night's Dream, iii. 2. 48, 49:

'Being ouer shoes in blood, plunge in the deep,
And kill me too.'

And Macbeth, iii. 4. 136–138:

'I am in blood
Stepp'd in so far that, should I wade no more,
Returning were as tedious as go o'er.'

67. *Tear-falling*, shedding tears.

70. *sovereign.* The folios read 'Lord.'

72. *Ay, my lord.* The folios change this to 'Please you.'

74. *there.* The folios have 'then.

76. *deal upon*, deal with. Compare Ben Jonson, Every Man out of his Humour, v. 4: 'What, will he deal upon such quantities of wine alone?'

82. *There is no more but so*, that is, to carry out Richard's whispered

instructions. Compare The Taming of the Shrew, i. 1. 167:

'If love have touch'd you, nought remains but so.'

And Hamlet, i. 3. 10, where Laertes says that Hamlet's passion for Ophelia is but

'The perfume and suppliance of a minute;
No more.'
Oph. No more but so?'

83. *prefer*, promote. Compare Cymbeline, v. 5. 326:

'Ere I arise, I will prefer my sons.'

84. *'Tis done, my gracious lord.* The folios read 'I will dispatch it straight,' and omit the two following lines.

88. *demand* both here and in l. 98 is changed in the folios to 'request.'

94, 95. See iii. 1. 194, 195.

95. The folios read

'Which you haue promised I shall possesse.'

96, 97. *if she convey Letters to Richmond.* Of Lord Stanley and his wife, says Hall, 'yt was geuen him in charge to kepe her in some secrete place at home, without hauynge enie seruaunte or companye, so that from thence foorthe she shoulde neuer sende letter nor messenger to her sonne nor any of his frendes or confederates, by the whyche the kynge myght be molested or troubled, or any hurte or preiudice might be attempted againste his realme and comimnaltie.' (Richard III, p. 398.)

97. *shall answer it*, shall be responsible for it. Compare 1 Henry IV, iv. 2. 8:

'*Bard.* This bottle makes an angel.

Fal. An if it do, take it for thy labour; and if it make twenty, take them all; I'll answer the coinage.'

99. *As I remember.* The folios have 'I doe remember me,' thus making 'Henry' a disyllable.

Ib. Henry the Sixth. See 3 Henry VI, iv. 6. 68, &c.

101. *peevish.* See i. 3. 194.

102. *perhaps, perhaps,—* The folios omit one of these words, and the following speeches as far as l. 120.

104. *How chance the prophet*, &c., how chance it that, &c. So in Midsummer Night's Dream, i. 1. 129:

'How chance the roses there do fade so fast?'

107–111. *Richmond! . . . Richmond.* Richard visited Exeter in the first year of his reign. 'And during his abode here he went about the citie, & viewed the seat of the same, & at length he came to the castell: and when he vnderstood that it was called Rugemont, suddenlie he fell into a dumpe, and (as one astonied) said; Well, I see my daies be not long. He spake this of a prophesie told him, that when he came once to Richmond, he should not long liue after.' (Holinshed, p. 746, col. 1.) This is not mentioned by Hall.

118. *like a Jack*, the figure which in old clocks struck the hour upon the bell. See Richard II, v. 5. 60:

> 'But my time
> Runs posting on in Bolingbroke's proud joy,
> While I stand fooling here, his Jack o' the clock.'

Such figures were formerly to be seen at St. Dunstan's church in Fleet Street. Douce says, 'At Horsham church in Sussex, there was a figure dressed in scarlet and gold, that struck the quarters. He was called Jack o' the clock-house.' Jack o' the clock or clockhouse came to be the nickname for a busybody. 'Fretillon: m. A little nimble dwarfe, or hop-on-my thombe; a Jacke of the Clocke-house; a little busie-bodie, meddler, Jacke-stickler; one that hath an oare in euery mans Boat, or his hand in euery mans dish.' (Cotgrave.)

Ib. keep'st the stroke, keepest on striking.

121. *Why . . . no.* The folios read 'May it please you to resolue me in my suit.'

Ib. resolve. See l. 26.

122. *Tut, tut.* Omitted in the folios.

123, 124. *Is it . . . contempt?* The folios have:

> 'And is it thus? repayes he my deepe seruice
> With such contempt?'

127. *To Brecknock.* 'Morton bishop of Elie was committed to the duke of Buckingham to keepe in ward, which sent him to his manour of Brecknocke in Wales, from whence he escaped to king Richard his confusion.' (Holinshed, p. 733, col. 1.)

Scene III.

1, 2. *deed . . . act.* These words are transposed in the folios, possibly because 'arch act' was thought ill-sounding.

2. *arch*, literally, chief; hence, conspicuous, notorious.

4. *Dighton and Forrest.* John Dighton was horsekeeper to Sir James Tyrrel, and Miles Forrest was one of the four attendants whom he had placed in charge of the young princes. The subsequent fate of the murderers is recorded by More. 'Miles Forest at sainct Martens pecemele rotted away. Dighton in dede yet walketh on aliue in good possibilitie to bee hanged ere he dye. But sir James Tirel dyed at Tower hill, beheaded for treason.' (Workes, p. 69.) Hall says, 'Ihon Dighton lyued at Caleys long after, no lesse disdayned and hated then poincted at, and there dyed in great misery' (p. 379).

Ib. whom. The first folio has 'who.' See i. 3. 54.

5. *ruthless piece of butchery.* The folios have 'peece of ruthfull Butchery.' There are many other variations of no importance.

6. *flesh'd villains*, trained, hardened in villainy. Sir Thomas More describes Forrest as 'a felowe fleshed in murther before time.' Compare Henry V, iii. 3. 11: 'The flesh'd soldier, rough and hard of heart.' The term is taken from the chase. To 'flesh' a dog or falcon was to reward it with a portion of the first game which it killed. Hence it came to signify to train, inure, harden by practice. Compare Beaumont and Fletcher, The Custom of the Country, iv. 2:

'A flesh'd ruffian,
That hath so often taken the strappado,
That 'tis to him but as a lofty trick
Is to a tumbler.'

Again, in The Spanish Curate, iv. 2:

'Tush, he's flesh'd,
And knows what vein to strike for his own credit.'

8. *like two children*. The folios have 'like to children.'

11. *innocent alabaster arms*. The folios have 'Alablaster innocent Armes.'

18. *replenished*, complete, perfect. Compare Winter's Tale, ii. 1. 79:

'The most replenish'd villain in the world.'

19. *prime*, first; used both of time and dignity. Compare The Tempest, i. 2. 72: 'Prospero the prime duke.' And in Pericles, iv. 3. 27, it is used as here, in the sense of 'original':

'To such proceeding
Who ever but his approbation added,
Though not his prime consent, he did not flow
From honourable sources.'

22. *this tidings*. The later folios read 'these tidings,' and in Shakespeare 'tidings,' like 'news,' is both singular and plural. Compare King John, iv. 2. 115:

'The tidings comes that they are all arrived.'

And Antony and Cleopatra, ii. 5. 87:

'But let ill tidings tell
Themselves when they be felt.'

25. *you gave in charge*, you ordered, commanded. See i. 1. 85.

30. *how or in what place I do not know*. In Hall's narrative, taken from More, 'he caused the murtherers to burye them at the stayre foote, metely depe in the grounde vnder a great heape of stones' (p. 378). Richard ordered them to be more honourably buried. 'Wherupon a priest of sir Robert Brakenburies toke them vp & buried them in such a place secretely as by the occasion of his death (which was very shortely after) which onely knewe it, the very trueth could neuer yet be very wel and perfightly knowen. For some saye that kynge Richard caused the priest to take them vp and close them in lead and to put them in a coffyne full of holes hoked at the

endes with .ii. hokes of yron, and so to cast them into a place called the Blacke depes at the Themes mouth, so that they should neuer rise vp nor be sene agayn.' (Ibid.) On the 17th of July 1674, during the alterations at the White Tower which were conducted by Sir Christopher Wren, 'as they were taking away the stairs leading from the King's lodging into the Chapel of the White Tower, the workmen discovered about 10 feet deep in the ground some small human bones in a wooden chest; which bones being nicely examin'd, were found to have been those of two boys, the one of 13, the other of 11 years of age. . . This being brought to the ears of Charles II. his Majesty ordered them to be put in a marble urn and reposited here'; that is, in the north aisle of Henry the Seventh's chapel, where a tablet commemorating the discovery is to be seen on the east wall. (Dart's History of St. Peter's Westminster, i. 169.) The designs for the urn and the tablet were entrusted by the King to Sir Christopher Wren who was Surveyor General of the Royal buildings. (See Parentalia, p. 333.)

31. *soon at after supper.* It is not quite certain how this phrase is to be understood. We may either regard 'after supper' as a compound word, equivalent to 'rear-supper,' and denoting the banquet which followed the more substantial meal (compare Midsummer Night's Dream, v. 1. 34); or we may take 'at after' as equivalent to 'after,' as in Chaucer, C. T. (ed. Tyrwhitt), 10616:

'At after souper goth this noble king';

and 11531:

'At after souper fell they in tretee.'

and again in Ascham's Toxophilus (ed. Arber) 1, p. 28: 'They were both left bente tyll the nexte daye at after dyner.' But although 'at after' in this sense is not unfrequently found, it does not elsewhere occur in Shakespeare, while 'soon' followed by 'at' is very common. For instance, in The Merry Wives, i. 4. 8: 'Go, and we'll have a posset for 't soon at night.' And in the same play, ii. 2. 295, 298. Again, Measure for Measure, i. 4. 88:

'Soon at night
I'll send him certain word of my success.'

The same phrase occurs in 2 Henry IV, v. 5. 96, Romeo and Juliet, ii. 5. 78, and Othello, iii. 4. 198, and appears to be equivalent to 'this very night.' See also The True Tragedie of Richard the Third (Hazlitt, Shakespeare's Library, v. 87): 'With him my Lord will I so worke, that soone at night you shall speake with him.' 'Soon' is also found in other phrases, as for example, Comedy of Errors, i. 2. 25:

'Soon at five o'clock,
Please you, I'll meet with you upon the mart.'

And in the same play, iii. 2. 179:

'And soon at supper-time I'll visit you.'

Compare also The Merchant of Venice, ii. 3. 5. In the present passage the

editor of the text of the play in the folios altered the phrase to 'soone, and after supper.' Perhaps it is worth while to mention that in Ray's Collection of English Words (1674) we find 'Soon: the Evening; A Soon, at Even.' recorded as a North-country word. In Grose's Provincial Glossary the usage is attributed to the West of England.

32. *process*, story, narrative. See iv. 4. 253, and compare Hamlet, i. 5. 37:

'So the whole ear of Denmark
Is by a forged process of my death
Rankly abused.'

And The Merchant of Venice, iv. 1. 274:

'Tell her the process of Antonio's end.'

35. *Farewell till soon.* The folios read:

'Farewell till then.
Tir. I humbly take my leave.'

36. *The son of Clarence* was kept prisoner by Richard at Sheriff Hutton Castle in Yorkshire 'durynge the tyme of his vsurped reigne.' (Hall, Henry VII. p. 422.) After the battle of Bosworth Field he was removed to the Tower by Sir Robert Willoughby, acting under Henry's orders.

38. *Abraham's bosom.* See Luke xvi. 22, and Richard II, iv. 1. 104:

'Sweet peace conduct his sweet soul to the bosom
Of good old Abraham.'

39. Anne, Richard's queen, died March 16, 1485.

40. *the Breton Richmond.* Richard calls him 'Breton,' because he had taken refuge in Brittany. It was on Christmas Day 1483, according to Hall, that Henry met the Marquis of Dorset and the other English nobles who had joined him in the cathedral of Rennes. 'The erle hymselfe fyrste tooke a corporall othe, and on his honour promysyng that incontynente after he shoulde be possessed of the crowne and dignytie of the realme of Englande, he wculde be conioyned in matrymonye wyth the lady Elizabeth daughter to kynge Edwarde the fourthe.' (Hall, Richard III, p. 397.)

43. Enter Catesby. The folios have 'Enter Ratcliffe.' See note on iii. 4. 80.

46. *Ely.* The folios read 'Morton,' that is, John Morton, Bishop of E'y. See note on iii. 4. 32. He was kept in the Custody of Buckingham at Brecknock Castle, but made his escape. 'The byshop beiyng as wyttye as the duke was wylie dyd not tarie tyll ye dukes compaignie were assembled, but secretlie disguysed, in a nyghte departed (to the dukes great displeasure) and came to his see of Ely, where he found monye and frendes, and so sailed into Flaunders, where he dyd the earle of Richemonde good seruice and neuer retourned agayne tyll the erle of Richemonde after beynge kyng, sent for hym, and shortely promoted him to the see of Cauntorbury.' (Hall, Richard III, p. 390.)

50. *army.* The folios have 'Strength,' and in the next line 'learn'd' for 'heard.'

Scene IV.

1, 2. Steevens pointed out that the same idea is found in Marston, Antonio and Mellida, second part, v. 1:

'Now is his fate growne mellow,
Instant to fall into the the rotten jawes
Of chap-falne death.'

As Antonio and Mellida was not written till 1602 Marston may have borrowed from this play.

5. *induction.* See i. 1. 32.

6. *the consequence,* the sequel. Compare iv. 2. 15.

10. *unblown flowers,* unopened. The first folio reads 'unblowed.'

15. *right for right,* measure for measure, a just punishment for an offence against justice.

17–19. In the quartos this speech is placed after l. 34, and lines 20, 21 are omitted.

18. *mute and dumb.* The folios read 'still and mute.' If Shakespeare's pen produced either expression it might be worth while to enquire why one was substituted for the other.

21. *doth quit,* pay or compensate for. See l. 64. So in Measure for Measure, v. 1. 416:

'Like doth quit like, and measure still for measure.'

23. *in.* See i. 2. 260.

26. *Blind sight, dead life.* In the folios these expressions are transposed.

28. *record.* See note on iii. 1. 72. This line is omitted in the quartos.

29. *Rest thy unrest.* Professor Delius quotes Titus Andronicus, iv. 2. 31:

'But let her rest in her unrest awhile.'

30. *innocents'.* The folios read 'innocent.'

31. *O . . . well afford.* The folios have 'Ah that thou wouldst assoone afford,' &c.

34. *O . . . but I?* The folios have 'Ah . . . but wee.'

35. *reverend,* spelt 'reverent' in all the old copies. See iv. 1. 31.

36. *seniory,* superiority of claim, priority. In the old editions the word is spelt 'signorie,' 'signiorie,' 'signeurie,' 'signiory,' 'signeury,' forms all of which point to the feudal 'signor' as containing the original idea of the word.

39. *Tell . . . mine.* Omitted in the folios, which end the sentence at the previous line, reading

'And let my woes frown on the upper hand
If sorrow can admit society.'

41. *Harry,* the reading of the Cambridge edition. The quartos have

'Richard,' the folios 'Husband.' Rann and afterwards Malone adopted Capell's suggestion 'Henry.'

45. *help'st.* Spelt 'hopst' in the first two quartos and 'hop'st' in the first folio. See i. 2. 107.

49. See 3 Henry VI, v. 6. 75:

'The midwife wonder'd and the women cried
"O, Jesus bless us, he is born with teeth!"'

51. *handiwork*, workmanship; from A. S. *handgeweorc*. See note on Julius Cæsar, i. 1. 27 (Clarendon Press ed.).

52, 53. *That excellent . . . souls.* These lines, which are omitted in the quartos, are transposed in the folios. The present arrangement is Capell's.

53. *galled eyes*, eyes sore with weeping. Compare Hamlet, i. 2. 155:

'Ere yet the salt of most unrighteous tears
Had left the flushing in her galled eyes.'

56. *carnal*, flesh-devouring, cruel.

58. *pew-fellow*, an intimate associate; originally, one who sits in the same pew at church. Compare Webster, Westward Ho, ii. 1: 'Mistress Wafer, and Mistress Tenterhook, being both my scholars, and your honest pew-fellows.' And Northward Ho, ii. 1: ''Sfoot, if he should come before a churchwarden, he would make him pew-fellow with a lord's steward at least.' See also Gregory Martin, A Discoverie of the manifold corruptions of the Holy Scriptures by the Heretikes of our daies (1582), Preface to the Reader § 29: 'Thirdly, that we speake indifferently against Protestants, Caluinistes, Bezites, and Puritans, without any curious distinction of them, being al among themselues brethren and pewfellowes.' The old spelling in Shakespeare is 'pue-fellow.'

59. *triumph*, with the accent on the second syllable, as in iii. 4. 91, and 1 Henry IV, v. 4. 14:

'And rebels' arms triumph in massacres.'

63. *stabb'd.* The folios have 'kill'd,' and to compensate for it read 'stab'd' in l. 67.

64. *to quit.* See l. 20.

65. *boot;* literally, addition; something thrown in to make up a bargain. Compare Winter's Tale. iv. 4. 690: 'What an exchange had this been without boot! What a boot is here with this exchange!' See v. 3. 301.

68. *tragic.* The folios read 'franticke.'

69. *adulterate*, adulterous. Compare Hamlet, i. 5. 42:

'Ay, that incestuous, that adulterate beast.'

71. *intelligencer*, agent or go-between, by means of whom communications are held. Compare 2 Henry IV, iv. 2. 20:

'The very opener and intelligencer
Between the grace, the sanctities of heaven
And our dull workings.'

72. *their factor.* The plural of respect is used in speaking of the evil principle as in the case of its opposite. Compare Othello, iv. 2. 48:

'Had it pleased heaven
To try me with affliction; had they rain'd
All kinds of sores and shames on my bare head,' &c.

See note on Richard II, i. 2. 7 (Clarendon Press ed.).

75. This imperfect line was completed by Capell, who inserted 'for him' after 'roar.' Pope reads 'pray for vengeance.'

77. *Cancel his bond of life.* Compare Macbeth, iii. 2. 49:

'Cancel and tear in pieces that great bond
Which keeps me pale.'

The employment of this legal metaphor has countenanced the theory that Shakespeare had at one period of his life been engaged in an attorney's office.

79. The reference is to i. 3. 245.

84. *the presentation,* the mere semblance, without the reality.

85. *The flattering index of a direful pageant.* Steevens says, 'Pageants are dumb shows, and the poet meant to allude to one of these, the index of which promised a happier conclusion. The pageants then displayed on publick occasions were generally preceded by a brief account of the order in which the characters were to walk. These indexes were distributed among the spectators, that they might understand the meaning of such allegorical stuff as was usually exhibited. The index of every book was anciently placed before the beginning of it.' Nares (Glossary) suggests that 'An index to a pageant was, probably, a painted emblem carried before it.' The explanation given by Steevens receives some support from Ford's Lover's Melancholy, iii. 3, in which, before the performance of The Masque of Melancholy, Corax hands Palador a paper which explains the dumb show:

'Pray, my lord,
Hold, and observe the plot: 'tis there express'd
In kind, what shall be now express'd in action.'

Shakespeare elsewhere uses 'index' in the sense of prologue or introduction, See ii. 2. 149, and Hamlet, iii. 4. 52:

'Ay me, what act,
That roars so loud, and thunders in the index?'

86. *a-high,* on high; which is Pope's reading. Delius prints 'o' high,' just as we find in v. 3. 47 the folios have 'a clocke' for 'o'clock.' Mr. Spedding would place lines 87, 88, 'Another . . . . bubble,' after line 90.

88–90. *A dream . . . shot.* The folios arrange and read thus:

'A dreame of what thou wast, a garish Flagge
To be the ayme of euery dangerous Shot;
A signe of Dignity, a Breath, a Bubble.'

89. *garish*, gaudy. Compare Romeo and Juliet, iii. 2. 25:

'And pay no worship to the garish sun';

which is imitated by Milton, Il Penseroso, 141:

'Hide me from day's garish eye.'

93. *Where are thy children?* The folios read, 'Where be thy two Sonnes?'

94. *Who . . . cries*, &c. The folios have, 'Who sues and kneeles, and sayes, &c.'

97. *Decline all this*, go through it all, from beginning to end, repeat it as a schoolboy would decline a Latin noun. Compare Troilus and Cressida, ii. 3. 55: 'I'll decline the whole question.'

100, 101. *For queen . . . sues.* These lines are transposed in the folios.

100. *caitiff*, wretch, through the Old French *caitif*, which appears in various forms, is derived from the Latin *captivus*, originally, captive, and hence applied to what was mean, base, wretched. Compare All's Well, iii. 2. 117:

'I am the caitiff that do hold him to 't.'

102–104. In the quartos line 103 is omitted, and line 104 placed before line 102. In all three lines the folios read 'For she' instead of 'For one.'

105. *wheel'd.* The folios read 'whirl'd.'

111. *my burthen'd yoke*, the yoke which is a burden to me. 'Burthen'd' in the sense of 'burdensome' is formed from the substantive 'burthen' and not from the verb. See note on 'venom'd,' i. 2. 20.

112. *my weary neck.* The folios have 'my wearied head.'

120. *fairer.* The folios read 'sweeter,' but 'fairer' contrasts better with 'fouler' in the next line.

122. *Bettering thy loss*, amplifying or exaggerating thy loss.

127. *Windy attorneys*, &c. Malone compares Venus and Adonis, 333–336:

'So of concealed sorrow may be said;
Free vent of words love's fire doth assuage;
But when the heart's attorney once is mute,
The client breaks, as desperate in his suit.'

An attorney is one who acts in the turn or place of another as his proxy or representative. Compare Holinshed (iii. 510): 'Iohn lord Latimer, although he was vnder age, for himselfe and the duke of Norfolke, notwithstanding that his possessions were in the king's hands, by his atturnie Thomas Graie knight, claimed and had the office of almoner for that daie.'

Ib. their client woes. Hanmer's reading. The quartos have, 'your client woes'; the folios, 'their clients woes.' The original MS. probably had 'y^r.'

128. *Airy succeeders of intestate joys.* The joys being dead and having left no will, mere words succeed as next of kin to an empty inheritance. The folios read 'intestine' for 'intestate,' which makes worse nonsense still.

129. *Poor* is here an adverb.

131. *Help not at all;* that is, have no power to cure, but simply to relieve the heart. 'Help' is found frequently in this sense. See The Tempest, ii. 2. 97: 'If all the wine in my bottle will recover him, I will help his ague.' The folios read 'Help nothing else,' that is, are of no other use; a change which appears to have been due to a misunderstanding of the word 'help.'

135. *I hear his drum.* The folios have 'The Trumpet sounds.'

Ib. exclaims. See i. 2. 52.

Ib. The stage direction is given as in the quartos. The folios have only, 'Enter King Richard, and his Traine.'

136. The folios read:

'Who intercepts me in my Expedition?'

141. *Where should be graven.* The folios read 'Where 't should be branded.'

142. *owed,* owned, possessed. Compare The Tempest, i. 2. 407:

'This is no mortal business, nor no sound
That the earth owes.'

147. *Where is kind Hastings, Rivers, &c.* The queen is not likely to have spoken so of Hastings, who was always opposed to her family. The corrector of the folio therefore changes the text to

'*Qu.* Where is the gentle *Riuers, Vaughan, Gray*?
Dut. Where is kinde *Hastings*?'

As it appears to me highly improbable that Shakespeare wrote either the one or the other I have left the reading of the earlier copies.

148. *alarum.* See i. 1. 7.

151. *entreat me fair,* treat, use me well. Compare 3 Henry VI, i. 1. 271:

'I'll write unto them and entreat them fair.'

157. *a touch of your condition,* a dash, a spice of your temper or disposition. Compare Twelfth Night, ii. 1. 13: 'But I perceive in you so excellent a touch of modesty.' For 'condition' see As You Like It, i. 2, 276:

'Yet such is now the duke's condition
That he misconstrues all that you have done.'

159. Duch. *O let . . . hear.* Omitted in the quartos.

163. *in anguish, pain and agony.* The folios read 'in torment, and in agony.'

165. *by the holy rood!* See iii. 2. 77.

168. *Tetchy,* fretful, irritable: said to be corrupted from 'touchy.' See Romeo and Juliet, i. 3. 32:

'To see it tetchy and fall out with the dug!'

170. *Thy prime of manhood,* thy early manhood, the springtime of thy manhood.

171. *Thy age confirm'd,* the full vigour of thy manhood.

Ib. bloody, treacherous. The folios have 'slye, and bloody.'

175. *Humphrey Hour.* If this expression ever had any meaning it is now

completely lost. Malone conjectured that it was 'used in ludicrous language for "hour," like "Tom Troth" for "truth."' Steevens thought that Shakespeare might 'by this strange phrase have designed to mark the hour at which the good Duchess was as hungry as the followers of Duke Humphrey.' 'To dine with Duke Humphrey' was an expression for going without one's dinner, because needy gallants were in the habit of spending the dinner hour in walking up and down the aisles in St. Paul's, in one of which was the monument of Sir John Beauchamp, popularly attributed to Humphrey Duke of Gloucester who was buried at St. Alban's. But if this explanation be correct, it is not clear how 'Humphrey Hour' can mean the hour at which the Duchess was summoned to breakfast. The spelling in the quartos 'Houre' and in the folios 'Hower' does not throw much light upon the question.

177. *disgracious.* See iii. 7. 112.

Ib. sight. The folios read 'eye,' and in the next line 'and not offend you Madam.'

179. *Strike up*, strike aloud. See King John, v. 2. 164: 'Strike up the drums.' So 'blow up' signifies 'blow aloud' in the expression 'Blow up the trumpet in the new moon,' Psalm lxxxi. 3. On this emphatic use of 'up' see Professor Ward's note on Greene's Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, iii. 22.

179–182. Duch. *I prithee* . . . K. Rich. *So.* As in the folios. The quartos have: '*Du.* O heare me speake for I shal neuer see thee more.'

183. *Either* is a monosyllable. Pope, not recognising this, reads 'thou'lt' for 'thou wilt.'

185. *extreme* with the accent on the first syllable, as in iii. 5. 44.

186. *never look upon.* The folios have 'neuer more behold,' and 'greeuous' for 'heavy' in the next line.

189. *complete* has the accent on the first syllable, as in Hamlet, i. 4. 52:

> 'That thou, dead corse, again in complete steel
> Revisit'st thus the glimpses of the moon.'

198. Johnson remarks, 'On this dialogue 'tis not necessary to bestow much criticism, part of it is ridiculous, and the whole improbable.' Monck Mason, on the other hand, says, 'I see nothing ridiculous in any part of this dialogue,' and he defends it from the charge of improbability. My own sympathies, I confess, are with Johnson's opinion.

199. *moe.* So the first quarto. The other quartos and the folios have 'more.' In the 1611 edition of the Authorised Version of Numbers xxii. 15, we find 'And Balak sent yet againe Princes, moe, and more honourable than they.' See notes on As You Like It, iii. 2. 243, and Julius Cæsar, ii. 1. 72, Clarendon Press editions.

200. *murder.* The folios have 'slaughter.'

202. *level*, aim. See 2 Henry IV, iii. 2. 286: 'The foeman may with as great aim level at the edge of a penknife.' And in the secondary sense

of 'guess,' The Merchant of Venice, i. 2. 41: 'According to my description, level at my affection.'

211. *of royal blood.* The folios have 'a Royall Princesse.'

213. *only safest.* These words are transposed in the folios. But the present order is in accordance with the usage of the time. Compare Much Ado, iii. 1. 23: 'That only wounds by hearsay'; that is, wounds by hearsay only.

217. *unavoided*, unavoidable, inevitable. Compare 'unvalued,' i. 4. 27.

221–234. K. Rich. *You speak . . . bosom.* Omitted in the quartos.

222. *Cousins . . . cozen'd.* 'Cousin' and 'cozen' are in reality the same word, but for convenience distinguished in spelling. Cotgrave has 'Cousiner. To clayme kindred for aduantage, or particular ends; as he, who to saue charges in trauelling, goes from house to house, as cousin to the owner of euerie one.' Hence to 'cousin' or 'cozen' came to signify to beguile or deceive generally.

224. *lanced.* Spelt 'lanch'd' in the folios, and no doubt so pronounced, as it was as late as Dryden's time. See note on Lear, ii. 1. 52 (Clarendon Press ed.), and Antony and Cleopatra, v. i. 36, where the folios read,

'But we do launch
Diseases in our bodies.'

In Spenser, Faery Queen, vi. 2. 6, we find,

'And in his left he held a sharpe bore-speare,
With which he wont to launch the salvage hart
Of many a Lyon and of many a Beare.'

225. *all indirectly, gave direction.* Steevens points to a similar play upon words in Hamlet, ii. 1. 66:

'By indirections find directions out.'

Delius quotes King John, iii. 1. 275, 276:

'Though indirect,
Yet indirection thereby grows direct.'

227. *on thy stone-hard heart.* Compare The Merchant of Venice, iv. 1. 123, 124:

'Not on thy sole, but on thy soul, harsh Jew,
Thou makest thy knife keen.'

229. *still*, constant. Compare Titus Andronicus, iii. 2. 45:

'But I of these will wrest an alphabet,
And by still practice learn to know thy meaning.'

233. *tackling*, cordage, rigging. See 3 Henry VI, v. 4. 18, where a nautical figure like the present is elaborated with much greater detail:

'The friends of France our shrouds and tacklings.'

Ib. reft, bereaved, deprived; the participle of 'reave' (A.S. *reáfian*, to rob). So in Comedy of Errors, i. 1. 116:

'And would have reft the fishes of their prey.'

235, 236. *my enterprise . . . wars.* So the folios. The quartos have 'my dangerous attempt of hostile armes.'

238. *were by me wrong'd.* The folios read 'by me were harm'd.'

243. *No, to . . . honour.* In the folios,

'Vnto the dignity and height of Fortune.'

244. *type,* badge, distinguishing mark. Compare Richard's speech to his soldiers as reported in Hall's Chronicle (p. 414): 'By whose wisedom & polecie, I haue obteyned the crowne & type of this famous realm & noble region.' Also Montaigne's Essayes (trans. Florio, 1603), p. 335: 'I besought fortune above all things, that she would make me a knight of the order of Saint Michell, which in those dayes was very rare, and the highest tipe of honour the French Nobilitie aymed at.' And North's Plutarch (1631), Alexander, p. 694: 'Are you ignorant, that the tipe of honour in all our victory consisteth, in scorning to do that which we see them do, whom we have vanquished and ouercome?' See also 3 Henry VI, i. 4. 121:

'My father bears the type of King of Naples.'

247. *demise,* grant, transfer. As a law term it is usually applied to real property, which is 'demised' by will, just as personal property is 'bequeathed.' The word does not occur elsewhere in Shakespeare.

250. *Lethe.* Compare Twelfth Night, iv. 1. 66:

'Let fancy still my sense in Lethe steep.'

In the Greek mythology Lethe was one of the rivers of hell, the waters of which produced forgetfulness. Hence it figures in Milton's description in Paradise Lost, ii. 582–586:

'Far off from these, a slow and silent stream,
Lethe, the river of oblivion, rolls
Her watery labyrinth, whereof who drinks
Forthwith his former state and being forgets—
Forgets both joy and grief, pleasure and pain.'

253. *process.* See iv. 3. 32.

254. *date,* period of duration. Compare Sonnet xviii. 4:

'And summer's lease hath all too short a date.'

And Midsummer Night's Dream, iii. 2. 373:

'With league whose date till death shall never end.'

259. *from thy soul's love.* A poor quibble, but not unworthy of the dialogue. Elizabeth purposely makes Richard say the opposite of what he intends, which the double meaning of 'from' allows her to do, Compare The Tempest, i. 2. 65, and Julius Cæsar, i. 3. 35:

'But men may construe things after their fashion
Clean from the purpose of the things themselves.'

263. *England* is here a trisyllable, but the corrector of the folio regarded it as a disyllable, and substituted 'do intend' for 'mean,' to avoid the repetition of the latter word.

269. *that are best acquainted.* The folios have 'being best acquainted.'

274. *as sometime Margaret.* See 3 Henry VI, i. 4. 79–83.

275–277. *steep'd . . . body.* For these words the first quarto reads, 'a handkercher steept in Rutlands bloud.' The others have 'handkercheffe.'

278. *And bid . . . therewith.* The folios, with an unpleasant alliteration, read

'And bid her wipe her weeping eyes withall.'

280. *a story of thy noble acts.* The folios read 'a Letter of thy Noble deeds.'

283. *Madest quick conveyance with,* &c., didst speedily remove, get rid of, &c. See note on i. 3. 71.

284. *Come, come, you mock me.* The folios read 'You mocke me Madam.'

288–342. K. Rich. *Say . . . tender years?* Omitted in the quartos.

289. *she cannot choose but,* she must of necessity. Compare The Tempest, ii. 2. 24: 'Yond same cloud cannot choose but fall by pailfuls.' And Merry Wives, v. 3. 18: 'That cannot choose but amaze him.'

292. *shall deal unadvisedly,* must deal, cannot help dealing, unadvisedly. Compare As You Like It, v. 1. 13: 'We that have good wits have much to answer for; we shall be flouting'; that is, we cannot help flouting, we must have our joke. See Abbott, § 315.

Ib. unadvisedly, rashly, without due consideration. Compare Psalm cvi. 33: 'Because they provoked his spirit, so that he spake unadvisedly with his lips.'

293. *Which.* The antecedent is the rash dealing implied in the previous sentence.

Ib. give. The folios read 'gives,' a frequent misprint when the preceding word ends in 's.' See note on iv. 1. 104, and compare The Tempest, iii. 3. 2: 'My old bones aches'; and in the same play, v. 1. 16: 'His tears runs.' Again, Coriolanus, iv. 7. 28: 'All places yeelds.' But these are not instances of the plural in 's.'

302. *mettle.* Compare Macbeth, i. 7. 73:

'Bring forth men-children only,
For thy undaunted mettle should compose
Nothing but males.'

In the first folio it is spelt 'mettall,' and no distinction is consistently made in spelling between the literal and metaphorical meanings of the word. See note on Julius Cæsar, i. 1. 62 (Clarendon Press edition). Like the Lat. *metallum,* from which it is derived, it primarily denotes that which is dug out of a mine, and so, stuff or substance generally. Hence it is applied to that which forms the basis of character, and so disposition, or temper.

304. *of her,* by her. Compare ll. 102, 103, 418.

Ib. bid, suffered, bore.

322. *orient*, bright, shining; properly, eastern, as pearls were first brought from the East. See note on Midsummer Night's Dream, iv. 1. 59 (53 Clarendon Press ed.).

323. *Advantaging their loan*, &c. The folios read 'loue' which Theobald corrected to 'loan,' and at the same time resolved the unmeaning compound 'often-times' into its parts 'of ten times.' He adds, 'My emendation gives this apt and easy Sense. The tears, that you have lent to your Afflictions, shall be turned into Gems; and requite you, by way of Interest, with Happiness twenty times as great as your sorrows have been.' Compare Hamlet, v. 1. 270:

'O treble woe
Fall ten times treble on that cursed head!'

331. *chastised*. The accent is on the first syllable, as it is in all other passages of Shakespeare, except Troilus and Cressida, v. 5. 4:

'Tell her I have chastised the amorous Trojan.'

335. *retail*. See iii. 1. 77.

343. *Infer*. See iii. 5. 75.

353, 354. *lengthens . . . likes*. In the one case 'heaven and nature' are regarded as one idea, as 'hell and Richard' are in the other. See iv. 1. 40. Pope reads 'lengthen . . . like.'

355. *love*. So the quartos. The folios read 'low,' but this gives no opportunity for the play on words contained in 'loathes' in the next line.

359. *Then in plain terms tell her*. The folios have, 'Then plainly to her tell.'

361. *Your reasons*. So in the folios. The quartos have, 'Madame your reasons.'

364, 365. These lines are transposed in the folios.

366. *Now, by my George, my garter, and my crown*. The George and garter were both insignia of the order of the Garter, but the former was not added till the reign of Henry the Seventh. See Bowtell's Heraldry, 3rd ed. p. 341. 'The George, executed in coloured enamel, is a figure of St. George on his charger, in the act of piercing the dragon with his lance.' (Ibid. 342.)

369. *holy*. The folios read 'Lordly,' and 'Thy' for 'The' at the beginning of this and the two following lines.

376. These two speeches in the folios are placed before l. 374.

377. *God . . . God's*. The folios, to avoid the penalties of the Act against profanity read 'Heaven . . . Heavens.'

379. *thy brother* is the reading of the two latest quartos. The others have 'my brother,' and the folios 'my Husband.'

380. *Had . . . slain*. The folios read,

'Thou had'st not broken, nor my Brothers died.'

But Lord Rivers was the only brother of the queen's for whose death Richard was responsible.

382. *brow.* The folios have 'head.'

385. *two.* Capell reads 'too.'

Ib. playfellows. The folios read 'Bed-fellowes.'

387. *The time.* The quartos have 'By the time.'

388. The quartos read 'wrongd in time.'

390. *time past wrong'd by thee.* The quartos read 'time by the past wrongd.'

396. *by time misused o'erpast.* The folios read 'by times ill-vs'd repast.'

400. *Heaven . . . hours!* Omitted in the quartos.

405. *I tender,* I regard, have regard for. See i. i. 44, ii. 4. 72.

407, 408. *Without . . . soul.* The folios read these lines,

'Without her, followes to my selfe, and thee;
Her selfe, the Land, and &c.'

409. *Death, desolation.* The principal quartos read 'Sad desolation.'

413. *attorney.* See iv. 4. 126, v. 3. 83.

417. *peevish-fond,* childishly foolish. Malone conjectured that the words as they stand in the quartos should be hyphened. The folios have 'peevish found.'

424. *in that nest of spicery.* Like the phœnix of fable, which made itself a nest of spices as a funeral pile upon which it was consumed, a new phœnix rising from its ashes. Richard's father refers to the same popular belief in 3 Henry VI, i. 4. 35:

'My ashes, as the phœnix, may bring forth
A bird that will revenge upon you all.'

425. *recomforture,* comfort. The word occurs nowhere else in Shakespeare, and the prefix 're-' is probably rather intensive, as in 'recure' iii. 7. 30, than used to denote repetition. Compare 3 Henry VI, v. 7. 19:

'That thou mightst repossess the crown in peace.'

Cotgrave has 'Reconfort: m. Great solace, or comfort, much consolation.' And 'Reconforter. To comfort, or solace much; to ease, or cheere vp, exceedingly.'

426. *go win.* See Abbott, § 349, and compare Julius Cæsar, i. 2. 25:

'Will you go see the order of the course?'

427. *And be,* &c. The affirmative particle is omitted, as in Hamlet, iii. 2. 53:

'*Ham.* Will the king hear this piece of work?
Pol. And the queen too?'

See Abbott, § 97.

429. *And . . . mind.* Omitted in the quartos.

431. At the close of the narrative which suggested this scene, Hall has the following profound remark: 'Surely the inconstancie of this woman were muche to be mereueled at, yf all women had bene founde constante,

but let men speake, yet wemen of the verie bond of nature will followe their awne kynde.' (p. 406.)

432. *How now! what news?* Omitted in the quartos.

433. *My gracious sovereign.* The folios have 'Most mightie Soveraigne.'

434. *puissant,* powerful. See Julius Cæsar, iii. 1. 33:

'Most high, most mighty, and most puissant Cæsar.'

438. *they hull,* they lie with no sails set, drifting with the tide. Compare Twelfth Night, i. 5. 217:

'*Mar.* Will you hoist sail, sir? here lies your way.

Vio. No, good swabber; I am to hull here a little longer.'

And Henry VIII, ii. 4. 199:

'Thus hulling in
The wild sea of my conscience, I did steer
Toward this remedy.'

440. *light-foot,* swift-footed.

442, 443. Cate. *Here, my lord . . . Salisbury.* The folios have:

'*Cat.* Here, my good lord.
Rich. Catesby, flye to the Duke.
Cat. I will, my Lord, with all conuenient haste.
Rich. Catesby come hither, poste to Salisbury.'

Rowe in the last line read 'Ratcliffe' for 'Catesby.'

446. *First . . . mind.* The folios read 'First, mighty Liege, tell me your Highnesse pleasure.'

450. *presently.* See. i. 2. 212. The folios read 'suddenly,' that is, speedily; as in iv. 2. 19.

451. Cate. *I go.* Omitted in the quartos.

452. *What . . . do.* The folios read 'What, may it please you, shall I doe,' &c.

456, 457. *My mind . . . with you?* The folios have

'My minde is chang'd:
Enter Lord Stanley.
Stanley, what newes with you?'

458. *None good, my lord.* The punctuation is Theobald's though he reads 'liege' for 'lord.' The quartos have 'None good my lord'; the folios, 'None, good my Liege.'

459. *but it may well be told.* The folios have 'but well may be reported.'

460. *Hoyday.* So in Troilus and Cressida, v. 1. 73: 'Hoy-day! spirits and fires.'

461. *Why . . . about.* The folios read 'What need'st thou runne so many miles about.'

462. *a nearer way.* In the folios 'the neerest way.'

465. *White-liver'd.* Compare Macbeth, v. 3. 15:

'Go prick thy face, and over-red thy fear,
Thou lily-liver'd boy.'

In Lear, iv. 2. 50, Goneril calls her husband 'Milk-liver'd man!' The liver was regarded as the seat of courage. See The Merchant of Venice, iii. 2. 86. A liver white and pale was 'the badge of pusillanimity and cowardice.' 2 Henry IV, iv. 3. 113.

Ib. runagate, vagabond. See Romeo and Juliet, iii. 5. 90: 'Where that same banish'd runagate doth live.' And the Prayer-Book Version of Psalm lxviii. 6: 'but letteth the runagates continue in scarceness.'

467. *as you guess* is not repeated in the folios.

468. *Ely.* The folios have 'Morton.' See note on iii. 4. 32.

470. *the chair,* the throne. See v. 3. 251.

Ib. the sword of state, with which the monarch is still girt at coronation.

474. *what doth he upon the sea?* The folios read 'what makes he vpon the Seas.'

476. *Unless for that he comes,* &c. Richard as before 'moralizes two meanings in one word.'

477. *the Welshman,* being the grandson of Owen Tudor.

479. *mighty liege.* The folios read 'my good Lord.'

480. *power,* force, army. So in Lear, iv. 4. 21:

'The British powers are marching hitherward.'

485. *Cold friends to Richard.* The folios read very lamely, 'Cold friends to me,' which destroys what little force there was in the line.

487. *They have not been commanded,* they have received no orders.

488. *Please it.* The folios have 'Pleaseth'=may it please. Compare 2 Henry IV, iv. 1. 225:

'Pleaseth your lordship
To meet his grace just distance 'tween our armies.'

496. *Go . . . behind.* The folio has 'Goe then, and muster men: but leaue behind.'

497. *Your son, George Stanley.* 'For when the sayde lorde Stanley woulde haue departed into his countrey to visite his familie, and to recreate and refreshe his spirites (as he openly sayde) but the truth was to thenent to be in a perfight readines to receaue the erle of Richmond at his first arriuall in England: the kyng in no wise woulde suffre hym to departe before that he had left as an hostage in the courte George Stanley lorde straung his first begotten sonne and heire.' Hall, Richard III, p. 408.

Ib. faith. The folios read 'heart.'

500. 'Sir Edwarde Courtney and Peter his brother bishop of Exsetter reised another army in deuonshire and cornewall. In kente, Richarde Guylforde and other gentlemen, collected a great companye of souldyoures and openly beganne warre.' Hall, Richard III, p. 393. These Courtenays

were not brothers but cousins. See French, Shakespeareana Genealogica, p. 249.

504. *moe*. See l. 199.

506. *hour*, a disyllable, as in l. 173. To avoid this Pope read 'still more competitors.'

Ib. competitors, associates, confederates; persons who seek the same object and are on the same side. See Antony and Cleopatra, ii. 7. 76:

'These three world-sharers, these competitors,
Are in thy vessel.'

And in Twelfth Night, iv. 2. 12, when Sir Toby and Maria appear the clown says, 'The competitors enter.'

507. *Flock . . . increaseth*. The folios read

'Flocke to the Rebels, and their power growes strong.'

509. *owls*, whose cry portended death. Compare Lucrece, 165:

'No noise but owls' and wolves' death-boding cries.'

And Macbeth, ii. 2. 4:

'It was the owl that shriek'd, the fatal bellman,
Which gives the stern'st good night.'

510. *Take . . . news*. The folios read

'There, take thou that, till thou bring better newes.'

511. See the quotation from Hall in the Preface, p. xlv. The quartos here read:

'*Mes*. Your grace mistakes, the newes I bring is good
My newes is that by sudden floud, and fall of water,
The Duke of Buckinghams armie is disperst and scattered,
And he himselfe fled, no man knowes whether.
King. O I crie you mercie, I did mistake,
Ratcliffe reward him, for the blow I gaue him.'

518. *that brings the traitor in*. The quartos have 'that brings in Buckingham.'

519. Richard's proclamation against the rebels was dated Oct. 23, 1483.

520. *Sir Thomas Lovel*. 'And by this meanes almooste in one momente Thomas Marques Dorcet came out of sanctuarye where he sith the begynnynge of Richardes dayes had contynued, whose lyfe by the onely helpe of sir Thomas Louell esquyer was preserued from all daungier and perell in this troubleous worlde, gathered together a greate bande of menne in Yorkeshire.' Hall, Richard III, p. 393. Sir Thomas Lovel was Chancellor of the Exchequer and Treasurer of the Household to Henry VII, and was one of the Lady Margaret's Executors. In the play of Henry VIII he appears as Constable of the Tower.

522. *Yet . . . grace*. The folios read 'But . . . Highnesse.'

523. *by tempest*. These words are omitted in the quartos, which read as one line 'The Brittaine . . . Dorshire.'

524, 525. *sent . . . banks.* The quartos read:

'Sent out a boate to aske them on the shore.'

526. *yea or no.* The rule laid down by Sir Thomas More that yea and nay were used together, and yes and no, was not observed in Shakespeare's time. See the note on Coriolanus, iii. 1. 145.

528. *Upon his party.* See iii. 2. 47.

529. *Hoised . . . Brittany.* The quartos have 'Hoist . . . Brittaine.' The folios, 'Hoys'd saile, and made his course againe for Brittaine,'

Ib. Hoised. Usually derived from Fr. *haulser* or *hausser*. Cotgrave has, 'Hausser. To hoise, raise, eleuate, heave vp, lift high; set aloft, aduance.' In Hall's narrative we find, 'he weyed vp his ancors and halsed vp hys sayles.' Professor Skeat, perhaps rightly, connects the word with the Old Dutch *hyssen*,modern *hijschen*, and the Swedish *hyssa*, to hoist.

535. *landed at Milford.* A gap of two years in the history is here bridged over by the dramatist. Richmond embarked on his first fruitless expedition to join Buckingham on October 12, 1483, but his actual landing at Milford did not take place till about the 7th or 8th of August 1485. (Gairdner, Richard the Third, p. 269.)

536. *Is colder tidings, yet,* &c. The folios have 'Is colder Newes, but yet,' &c.

537. *reason,* talk. See i. 4. 154.

538. *a royal battle,* a battle on which a kingdom depends.

539. *take order.* See i. 4. 277; iii. 5. 103.

Scene V.

Sir Christopher Urswick was chaplain to the Lady Margaret and was trusted by her to carry on the negotiations with Richmond in Brittany. 'In the meane ceason the countesse of Richemond toke into her seruice Christopher Vrswike an honest and a wise priest, and after an othe of hym for to be secret taken and sworne she vttred to him all her mynde & councell, adhibityng to him the more confidence and truth that he al his life had fauoured and taken part with kyng Henry the .vi. and as a special iuell put to her seruice by sir Lewes her physician.' Hall, Richard III, p. 392. The title 'Sir' which is here given him is out of place (see iii. 3. 111), for Urswick was at this time LL.D. and master of King's Hall, Cambridge (1483–1488). He held various ecclesiastical offices and was Dean of York (1488–1494), chancellor of Exeter (1493), and Dean of Windsor (1496). He refused the bishopric of Norwich, and died at Hackney, where he was rector, Oct. 24, 1521. See Cooper's Athenæ Cantabrigienses, vol. i.

The scene is probably at Knowsley in Lancashire, where the Lady Margaret was living when Morton first opened negotiations with her for the return of her son. But it is a little uncertain, because when the queen proposed the marriage of Richmond with the Princess Elizabeth, the Lady

Margaret was at her husband's house in London, afterwards Derby House, the site of which is occupied by the Heralds' College. See below, note on l. 17.

2. *this most bloody.* The folios read 'the most deadly.'

3. *frank'd.* See i. 3. 314.

Ib. in hold, in prison. See Acts iv. 3. So in Measure for Measure, iv. 3. 91:

'Put them in secret holds, both Barnardine and Claudio.'

Lord Stanley, as Richard approached, retired with five thousand men to Atherstone, 'there abydynge the commyng of the Earle, and this wilye foxe dyd this acte to aduoyde all suspicion, beynge afraied least yf he shoulde be sene openly to bee a fautoure or ayder to the Earle his sonne in lawe before the daie of the battayle, that kynge Richarde whyche yet dyd not vtterly put in him diffidence and mystruste woulde put to some cruell deathe his sonne and heire apparaunt George Lorde Straunge whome kynge Rycharde as you haue heard before kept with hym as a pledge or hostage to thentent that the lorde Stanley his father shoulde attempte nothing preiudiciall to hym.' (Hall, p. 412.)

5. *withholds.* The folios have 'holds off,' and after this line they insert the following:

'So get thee gone: commend me to thy Lord.
Withall say, that the Queene hath heartily consented
He should espouse Elizabeth hir daughter.'

7. 'In the calendes of August he sailed from harflet with so prosperous a wynde that the .vii. daye after his departure he arryued in Wales in the euenyng at a porte called Mylford Hauen, and incontinent tooke land and came to a place called Dalle . . . And the earle at the sonne rysyng remoued to harfford west . . . Here he heard newes which were as vntrue as they truly were reported to hym in Normandie, that Rice ap Thomas and Ihon Sauage wythe body and goodes were determined to aide kyng Richard. While he and his compaignie were somewhat appalled of these newe tydynges, ther came such message from thinhabitauntes of the toune of Pembroke y^t refresshed and reuyued their frosen heartes and daunted courages.' (Hall, Richard III, p. 410.)

9. *Sir Walter Herbert,* 'a man of an aunciente stocke and greate powre emongest the Welshemen.' (Hall, p. 410.)

10. *Sir Gilbert Talbot,* called Sir George here by Hall, but afterwards Sir Gilbert, joined Henry at Newport. He was uncle to the young Earl of Shrewsbury. 'In the euenynge, the same daie came to hym sir George Talbott with the whole powre of the younge Earle of Shrewsburye then beynge in warde, whiche were accompted to the nombre of twoo thousande men.' (Hall, Richard III, p. 411.)

Ib. Sir William Stanley. The brother of Thomas Lord Stanley. 'And thus his powre increasynge he arryued at the towne of Stafforde and there

pawsed. To whome came Sir Wyllyam Stanley accompaignied with a fewe persones.' (Hall. p. 411.)

11. *Oxford . . . Sir James Blunt.* John de Vere Earl of Oxford was imprisoned by Edward IV in the castle of Hammes. See 3 Henry VI, v. 5. 2. 'While kynge Richard was thus troubled and vexed with ymaginacions of the tumulteous time that was like to come: Loo, euen sodeinly he herde newes that fyer was sprong oute of the smoke, and the warre recently begonne, and that the castell of hammes was deliuered into the handes of the earle of Rychemonde by the meanes of the earle of Oxenforde, and that not only he but also Iames Blount capiteine of the castel, were fled into Fraunce to aide the Earle Henry.' (Hall, p. 408.)

Ib. redoubted Pembroke. Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, uncle to Richmond. He afterwards married Katharine Woodville widow of the Duke of Buckingham.

12. *Rice ap Thomas.* As Richmond marched towards Shrewsbury, 'there met & saluted him Rice ap Thomas with a goodly band of Welshmen.' (Hall, p. 411.)

Ib. with a valiant crew. See Hall, p. 411: 'sir Walter Herberd which laie w^t^ a greate crewe of menne at Carmarden.'

13. *moe.* The folios have 'other,' reading 'great' instead of 'noble.'

14. *they do bend their course.* The folios have, 'do they bend their power.'

17. *Tell him the queen,* &c. The queen, who was in sanctuary at Westminster, after hearing from Master Lewis, the Lady Margaret's physician, the proposal for the marriage of Richmond to the princess Elizabeth, desired 'that he would with all diligente celerite resorte to her then lodgyng in her husbandes place within the cyte of London, and to declare on the Quenes behalfe to the countesse, that all the frendes and fautoures of kyng Edward her husbande, should assiste and take parte with the earle of Richemonde her sonne, so that he would take a corporall othe after the kyngdome obteyned to espouse and take to wife the ladye Elizabeth her daughter, or els lady Cecile, yf theldest daughter were not then lyuynge.' (Hall, p. 391.)

ACT V.

Scene I.

The historical date of this scene was Nov. 2, 1483.

Buckingham was betrayed by Humphrey Bannister, in whose house near Shrewsbury he had taken refuge, to John Mitton, Sheriff of Shropshire, 'whyche sodaynely with a stronge power of men in harnes apprehended the duke in a litle groue adioynynge to the mansion of Homfrey Banaster, and in greate hast and euyll spede conueighed him appareled in a pilled black cloke to the cytie of Salsburie where kynge Richard then kepte his hous-

hold . . . The duke beyng by certayne of the kynges councel diligently vpon interrogatories examined what thynges he knewe preiudicial to ye kynges person, opened and declared frankely and frely all the coniuracion without dissimulynge or glosynge, trustynge because he had truely & playnly reueled and confessed all thinges that were of hym required, that he should haue lycence to speke to ye kyng which (whether it wer to sue for perdon and grace, or whether he being brought to his presence would have sticked him with a dagger as men then judged) he sore desyred and required. But when he had confessed the whole facte and conspiracye vpon Allsoulen day without arreignemente or iudgemente he was at Salsburye in the open merket place on a newe skaffolde behedded and put to death.' (Hall, p. 395.) Holinshed places the scene of the execution at Shrewsbury. Johnson proposed to add this scene to the preceding act.

1. The failure of Buckingham's attempt to obtain an interview with Richard is referred to in Henry VIII, i. 2. 195 &c.

3. *Rivers, Grey.* The folios have 'Gray & Riuers.'

4. *Holy King Henry.* See iv. 4. 25. Douce says, 'King Henry the Sixth, though never actually canonized, was regarded as a saint, and miracles were supposed to have been performed by him.' Henry VII found the expense of canonization too great.

5. *miscarried.* See i. 3. 16.

13. *in King Edward's time.* See ii. 1. 32, &c.

19. *the determined respite of my wrongs,* the fixed period to which the punishment of my wrong-doing is postponed.

25. *Margaret's curse.* See i. 3. 300.

28. *Come, sirs, convey me.* The folios read 'Come leade me Officers.'

29. *wrong hath but wrong,* wrong-doing has brought retribution though unjust. Compare 'right for right,' iv. 4. 15.

Scene II.

The Camp near Tamworth. 'The Earle of Rychmonde reised his campe and departed from Lychefelde to the town of Tomwoorth therto nere adionynge.' (Hall, p. 413.)

Enter Richmond, &c. The quartos have only 'Enter Richmond with drums and trumpets.'

5. *from our father Stanley.* When Richmond's army arrived at Tamworth at night, he himself lost his way and took shelter in a little village three miles off. Next morning on joining his men he made excuses for his absence, and 'preuely departed agayn from his host to the towne of Aderstone, where the lord Stanley and sir William his brother with their bandes were abidynge. There the Earle came firste to his fatherinlawe in a lytle close, where he saluted hym and Sir William his brother.' (Hall, p. 413.)

7. Compare Beaumont and Fletcher, The Prophetess, ii. 3; where Diocles, addressing Aper, says

'Thou art like thy name,
A cruel boar, whose snout hath rooted up
The fruitful vineyard of the commonwealth.'

8, 9. *That spoil'd . . . Swills.* This change of tense from past to present is not uncommon in animated descriptions. See The Tempest, i. 2. 148 (Clarendon Press ed.), and Winter's Tale, v. 2. 83: 'She lifted the princess from the earth, and so locks her in embracing, as if she would pin her to her heart.' Malone gives an example of the opposite change from the Argument to the Rape of Lucrece: 'The same night he treacherously stealeth into her chamber, violently ravished her, and early in the morning speedeth away.'

10. *swine* (A. S. *swîn*) is here singular, as in Venus and Adonis, 616:

'Thou know'st not what it is
With javelin's point a churlish swine to gore.'

And The Taming of the Shrew, Ind. i. 34:

'O monstrous beast! how like a swine he lies!'

11. *Lies.* The folios read 'Is,' but 'Lies' suits better with the figure of the boar. 'Centre' is spelt 'Centry' in the first folio.

12. *Near to the town of Leicester.* 'In the mean ceason kyng Richard . . . marshed to a place mete for twoo battayles to encountre by a village called Bosworth, not farre from Leycester, and there he pitched his felde, refreshed his soldioures and toke his reste.' (Hall, p. 414.)

13. *one day's march.* Tamworth is 15 or 16 miles from Bosworth Field.

14. *cheerly*, cheerfully. So in As You Like It, ii. 1. 19: 'Cheerly, good Adam!'

17. Oxf. This speech is given in the quartos to '1 Lo.' and in those which follow, instead of 'Herb.' and 'Blunt' they have merely '2 Lo.' and '3 Lo.'

Ib. swords. The folios have 'men,' and instead of 'that bloody homicide' in the next line they read 'this guilty Homicide,' probably on account of 'bloody' in l. 16.

18. *fly.* The folios change this to 'turne' and read 'flye' for 'shrink' in l. 20.

20. *who*, they who.

21. *his greatest need.* The folios read 'his deerest neede,' that is, his greatest extremity. See note on 'dear' in i. 4. 204.

Scene III.

Enter King Richard, &c. The quartos have 'Enter King Richard, Norffolke, Ratcliffe, Catesbie, with others.' The folios, 'Enter King Richard in Armes, with Norfolke, Ratcliffe, and the Earle of Surrey.' The Duke of

Norfolk commanded Richard's vanguard at the battle of Bosworth Field. See l. 296.

2. *My Lord . . . sad?* The first quarto has, 'Whie, how now Catesbie, whie lookst thou so bad.' The other quartos change 'bad' to 'sad,' and all give the next line to 'Cat.'

4. *My Lord . . . liege.* The quartos have only 'Norffolke, come hither.'

6. *my gracious lord.* The folios alter this to 'my louing lord,' and omit 'there' in l. 7.

8. *all's one for that,* no matter for that, never mind. Compare Midsummer Night's Dream, i. 2. 51:

'*Flu.* Nay, faith, let not me play a woman; I have a beard coming.

Quin. That's all one: you shall play it in a mask.'

9. *descried,* observed, reconnoitred. Compare Lear, iv. 5. 13: 'To descry the strength o' the enemy.' And Judges, i. 23: 'And the house of Joseph sent to descry Bethel.'

Ib. foe. The folio reads 'traitors.'

10. *Six or seven thousand.* 'For all his hole nomber exceeded not .v. thousande men beside the powr of the Stanleys, wherof .iij. thousande were in the felde vnder the standard of sir William Stanley: the kynges nomber was doble as muche & more.' (Hall, p. 414.)

11. *our battalion.* So the quartos. The folios read 'our battalia.' Similarly in Hamlet, iv. 5. 79, the first folio has,

'When sorrowes comes, they come not single spies,
But in Battaliaes.'

Ib. trebles. Richard's army was about twelve thousand men, and he reckoned upon the assistance of the Stanleys besides.

Ib. account, reckoning.

12. *a tower of strength.* Douce quotes Proverbs xviii. 10: 'The name of the Lord is a strong tower.'

13. *party.* The folios read 'faction.'

14. *Up with . . . gentlemen.* In the folios the line stands,

'Vp with the Tent: Come Noble Gentlemen.'

We have had 'adverse party' before. See iv. 4. 190.

15. *field.* The folios have 'ground.'

16. *of sound direction,* skilled in ordering military movements. See lines 236, 302 of this scene for the sense of 'direction'; and Othello, ii. 3. 128:

'He is a soldier fit to stand by Cæsar
And give direction.'

18. Enter . . . The stage direction in the folios is, 'Enter Richmond, Sir William Brandon, Oxford, and Dorset.' The quartos have only, 'Enter Richmond with the Lordes, &c.' But Dorset had been left behind at Paris. Richmond had borrowed money for his expedition of the French King. 'For the whiche he left as debter or more likelyer as a pledge or hostage lord

Thomas Marques Dorsett (whome he halfe mistrusted) and Sir Ihon Burchier.' (Hall, p. 409.)

19. *set*, sunset, as in Henry V, iv. 1. 289:

'But, like a lackey, from the rise to set
Sweats in the eye of Phœbus.'

20, 21. The folios read 'tract' for 'track' and 'token' for 'signal.' The former spelling is also found in Richard II, iii. 3. 66:

'To dimme his glory, and to staine the tract
Of his bright passage to the Occident.'

22. *Sir William . . . standard.* The quartos read, 'Where is Sir William Brandon, he shall beare my standerd.'

23–26. These four lines stand as in the folios. In the quartos they are inserted after l. 43, thus,

'*Blunt.* Vpon my life my Lord, Ile vndertake it.
Rich. Farewell good Blunt.
Give me some inke . . .
. . . . . our small strength.
Come, let vs consult vpon to morowes busines,
In to our tent, the aire is rawe and cold.'

The quartos also omit lines 27, 28, and 43.

25. *Limit*, fix strictly, appoint, each leader to his command. So in Macbeth, ii. 3. 56:

'I'll make so bold to call,
For 'tis my limited service';

that is, the duty appointed me.

29. *keeps.* The quartos read 'keepe,' which, if correct, must be taken as an imperative.

33. *good Blunt, before thou go'st.* The folios have '(good captain) do for me.'

40. In the folios this line stands,

'Sweet Blunt, make some good meanes to speak with him,'

and in the following line they read 'Note' for 'scroll.' For 'make means,' in the sense of 'contrive means or opportunity,' see Two Gentlemen of Verona, v. 4. 137: 'To make such means for her as thou hast done.'

46. The folios have,

'Into my Tent, the Dew is rawe and cold.'

47, 48. *What is't . . . nine o'clock.* The quartos read,

'What is a clocke.
Cat. It is sixe of (*or* of the) clocke, full supper time.'

But it is clearly after sunset, and the date was August 21.

50. *my beaver.* The beaver was properly the front part or faceguard of the helmet (Fr. *baviere*), and is here used for the helmet itself, as in 1 Henry IV, iv. 1. 104:

'I saw young Harry, with his beaver on.'

And 3 Henry VI, i. 1. 12:

'I cleft his beaver with a downright blow.'

In Hamlet, i. 2. 230, the ghost 'wore his beaver up,' so that his face was seen.

58, 59. *Catesby!* Cate. *My lord!* So Pope corrected the quarto reading, 'Catesby! *Rat.* My lord.' The folios substitute 'Ratcliffe' for 'Catesby,' but in this case no one takes the message to Stanley.

59. *pursuivant at arms.* See note on iii. 2. 96.

63–65. The following orders are addressed to various attendants.

63. *a watch;* that is, a watch-light. See l. 180. Johnson, who explains the word thus is a little doubtful, in consequence of what follows, 'Bid my guard watch,' whether *watch* is not here a sentinel; but Steevens thinks that the word 'give' decides the question in favour of 'watch-light.'

64. *white Surrey.* Richard in his march from Nottingham was 'mounted on a greate white courser.' (Hall, p. 412.)

65. *my staves,* that is, the shafts of my lances. See l. 341.

68. *the melancholy Lord.* Malone says, 'Richard calls him *melancholy,* because he did not join heartily in his cause.' He took no part in the battle, and afterwards was promoted by Henry VII.

70. *cock-shut time,* twilight. See Cotgrave, French Dictionary, s. v. Chien: 'Entre chien & loup. In twilights, or cock-shoot time, (when a man can hardly discerne a dog from a wolfe).' Whalley, in his note on Ben Jonson's Masque, The Satyr—

'For you would not yesternight
Kiss him in the cock-shut light'—

says, 'There is a method of catching woodcocks in a kind of clap-net, which is called a cock-shut; and as the time of taking them in this manner is in the twilight, cock-shut light may very properly express the evening.' To this Gifford adds, 'The cock-shut is a large net suspended between two long poles, and stretched across a glade, or riding, in a wood, where a man is placed to watch when the birds rise or strike against it.'

73. *that alacrity of spirit.* 'Not vsynge the alacrite and myrth of mynde and of countenaunce as he was accustomed to do before he came toward the battaile.' (Hall, p. 414.)

77. *mid,* middle; not used elsewhere by Shakespeare as a substantive.

79. This interview took place near Atherstone. See note on v. 2. 5.

81. *father-in-law,* that is, stepfather; an error equally common in the present day. In this case the expression is taken from the Chronicle.

83. *by attorney.* See note on iv. 4. 127.

86. *flaky,* broken into flakes by the rays of light piercing it.

88. *Prepare thy battle,* set thine army in battle array. See ll. 24, 292, 299.

90. *mortal-staring war*, as Steevens interprets, 'War that looks big, or stares fatally on its victims.'

95. *tender George* was at this time a married man, and had been summoned to Parliament since 1482 as Lord Strange, in right of his wife Johanna le Strange, the only daughter and heiress of John eighth Baron Strange of Knockyn. But the dramatist followed the chroniclers; for Hall, and Holinshed after him, both speak of Lord Strange as a child.

97. *the leisure*, the time at our command. See l. 238, and Richard II, i. 1. 5:

'The boisterous late appeal,
Which then our leisure would not let us hear.'

104. *with troubled thoughts.* The folios have 'With troubled noise' which leads Mr. Grant White to his reading 'troubled with noise,' Richmond being represented as entirely untroubled in mind.

105. *leaden slumber.* Malone compares Lucrece, 124:

'Now leaden slumber with life's strength doth fight.'

See also Julius Cæsar, iv. 3. 268:

'O murderous slumber,
Lay'st thou thy leaden mace upon my boy?'

Ib. peise, weigh. Cotgrave has, 'Peser. To peise, poise, weigh.'

110. *bruising irons.* Referring to the heavy iron maces used in battle.

116. *the windows of mine eyes.* Compare Venus and Adonis, 482:

'Her two blue windows faintly she upheaveth.'

And Antony and Cleopatra, v. 2. 319: 'Downy windows, close.'

125. *deadly* is omitted in the folios and in all the quartos except the first.

129. See 3 Henry VI, iv. 6. 68, &c.

135. *fall*, let fall. See l. 163.

143. *thy lance.* Capell reads 'thy hurtless lance'; Mr. Collier, following the corrector of the Perkins folio, 'thy pointless lance.'

145. In the first and second quartos the ghosts of the young princes appear before the ghost of Hastings.

151. *cousins.* See ii. 2. 8, iii. 1. 2.

160. See iv. 2. 83.

173. *for hope*, as regards hope; and hence it is almost equivalent to 'for want of hope.' So in Macbeth, i. 5. 38:

'Who, almost dead for breath, had scarcely more
Than would make up his message.'

The reading in the present passage from having been misunderstood has been questioned, and words have been invented to substitute for it. Theobald read 'for Holpe,' which he explains 'for that Help, which I had intended and was preparing to lend thee.' Steevens proposed 'forholpe,' that is unhelped. But Dyce shewed that the text is right by a quotation from Greene's James the Fourth, v. 6:

'War then will cease when dead ones are reviv'd;
Some then will yield when I am dead for hope.'

We may also compare As You Like It, ii. 4. 75: 'faints for succour'; and ii. 6. 2: 'I die for food.'

180. *The lights burn blue.* This was believed to be a sign of the presence of a spirit. Steevens quotes from Lilly's Gallathea, iii. 3 (ed. Fairholt vol. i. p. 235): 'I thought there was some spirit in it because it burnt so blew. For my mother would often tell me that when the candle burnt blew, there was some ill spirit in the house.' So when the ghost of Cæsar appears Brutus exclaims 'How ill this taper burns!' (Julius Cæsar, iv. 3. 275).

Ib. now. The first quarto alone has the true reading. All the other early copies have 'not.'

186. *Lest I revenge . . . myself?* Capell omitted 'What,' leaving the punctuation unchanged. Dyce, in his second edition, adopted Lettsom's conjecture,

'Lest I revenge myself upon myself.'

204–206. *Methought . . . Richard.* Johnson proposed to place these lines ofter l. 192; Mason after l. 214, 'I fear, I fear,' where they would take the place of the lines omitted in the folios.

208. *'Zounds.* Omitted in the folios. See note on i. 4. 124.

209. *Ratcliff* should probably be omitted, as in the two latest quartos, being merely a repetition of the speaker's name.

212–214. K. Rich. *O Ratcliff . . . my lord.* These lines are omitted in the folios, and Ratcliffe's next speech thereby becomes unintelligible.

219. *in proof*, armour which is proof against weapons. Compare Macbeth, i. 2. 54: 'Bellona's bridegroom, lapp'd in proof.'

220. *It is.* So Pope. The quartos and folios have ''Tis,' and in this case 'near' is a disyllable, like fire, hour, year, and other words.

221. *eaves-dropper.* This is the spelling of the fourth folio. The first quarto and first three folios have 'ease-dropper'; the other quartos read 'ewse dropper,' 'eawse-dropper,' and 'ewese-dropper.'

222. Sitting in his tent. This part of the stage direction is added in the folios.

224. *Cry mercy*, I beg pardon. The pronoun is omitted, as in Lear, iii. 6. 54: 'Cry you mercy, I took you for a joint-stool.'

225. *ta'en a tardy sluggard.* See iv. 1. 52.

231. *cried on victory.* To 'cry on' is to 'utter the cry of,' Othello, v. 1. 48: 'Whose noise is this that cries on murder?' And Hamlet, v. 2. 375: 'This quarry cries on havoc.' Pope read 'Cried out victory,' and Warburton 'Cried On! Victory.'

232. *my soul.* The folios have 'my heart,' perhaps on account of 'souls' just before.

237. For these speeches see the Preface, pp. l–lii.

248. *made means.* See note on l. 40.

251. *Englands chair.* See iv. 4. 470.

254. *ward,* guard, protect. So in Titus Andronicus, iii. i. 195 :

'A hand that warded him
From thousand dangers.'

259. *in safeguard of,* in the defence of, for the safety of.

262. *quit,* requite. See iv. 4. 20, 64. The quartos and folios have 'quits' which is only a printer's error and not a plural in 's.' See ii. 3. 35, iv. 1. 104, iv. 4. 293.

264. *Advance.* See note on i. 2. 40.

276. *Tell,* count; as in The Tempest, ii. 1. 289 :

'They'll tell the clock to any business that
We say befits the hour.'

277. *Who saw.* We should say 'hath seen.' Compare Genesis xliv. 28 : 'And I said, Surely he is torn in pieces; and I saw him not since.' And Julius Cæsar, v. 5. 3 :

'Statilius shew'd the torch-light, but, my lord,
He came not back: he is or ta'en or slain.'

279. *should have braved,* should have adorned, made brave or fine. Steevens quotes The Taming of the Shrew, iv. 3. 125 : 'Thou hast braved many men; brave not me.'

289. *Caparison,* put on his trappings. The caparison of a horse was a long cloth covering the saddle. See note on Coriolanus, i. 9. 12.

291–300. See the passage from Hall in the Preface, p. xlviii.

292. *batile.* See l. 88.

293. *foreward,* vanguard. The word is used by Hall.

298. *we will follow.* To complete the verse we might read 'follow after.' Hall says 'After this long vantguard folowed King Richard himself.' Or we might read 'follow on' and omit 'on' in the next line.

299. *puissance,* force; in a military sense. So in King John, iii. 1. 339 :

'Cousin, go draw our puissance together.'

300. *well winged.* 'Hauyng horsmen for wynges on both ye sides of his battail.' (Hall.)

301. *to boot,* besides, over and above; A.S. *to bóte,* from *bót,* compensation, amends, advantage.

302. *direction.* See l. 16.

304. *too bold.* So Capell from Hall and Holinshed. The folios and earliest quartos have 'so bold.'

305. *bought and sold,* deceived, imposed upon. A proverbial phrase. See King John, v. 4. 10 :

'Fly, noble English, you are bought and sold.'

And Comedy of Errors, iii. 1. 72: 'It would make a man as mad as a buck, to be so bought and sold.'

309. *Conscience is but*, &c. The folios read, 'For conscience is' &c.

314. *inferr'd*. See iii. 5. 75; iii. 7. 12, 32.

316. *A sort*, a set, a pack; used contemptuously. Compare 2 Henry VI, iii. 2. 277:

'He was the lord ambassador
Sent from a sort of tinkers to the king.'

319. *ventures*. So Capell. The folios and quartos have 'Adventures.'

322. *restrain the one*, that is, keep them from us. Hanmer read 'distrain.'

Ib. distain, stain, defile. Compare Lucrece, 789:

'The silver-shining queen he would distain.'

324. *our mother's cost*. This is from the second edition of Holinshed. Hall has 'brought vp by my brothers meanes and myne.'

325. Richard expresses as much contempt for Richmond as Iago did for Cassio. See Othello i. 1.

328. *rags*. See i. 3. 233.

334. *bobb'd* differs from 'beaten' and 'thump'd' only perhaps in being a more contemptuous word. Hence a 'bob' is a smart rap or dry jest. See As You Like It, ii. 7. 55.

335. *in record* is the reading of the first and second quartos. The other quartos and the folios have 'on record.' For the accent see iii. 1. 72.

341. *Amaze the welkin*, &c. That is, says Johnson, fright the skies with the shivers of your lances. 'Welkin' is from A.S. *wolcn*, cloud, sky. See Midsummer Night's Dream, ii. 2. 356:

'The starry welkin cover thou anon
With drooping fog as black as Acheron.'

343. *deny*, refuse. So in Lear, ii. 4. 89:

'Deny to speak with me? They are sick? they are weary?'

345. *the enemy is past the marsh*. 'Betweene both armies there was a great marish there (but at this present, by reason of diches cast, it is growne to be firme ground) which the earle of Richmond left on his right hand; for this intent, that it should be on that side a defense for his part, and in so dooing he had the sunne at his backe, and in the faces of his enimies. When King Richard saw the earles companie was passed the marish; he did command with all hast to set vpon them.' Holinshed, p. 758.

350. *the spleen of fiery dragons*. Compare King John, ii. 1. 68:

'With ladies' faces and fierce dragons' spleens.'

The spleen was supposed to be the seat of anger, and hence it was used figuratively to denote that passion.

Scene IV.

3. *an opposite*, an opponent, adversary. Compare Hamlet, v. 2. 62:

> 'Tis dangerous when the baser nature comes
> Between the pass and fell incensed points
> Of mighty opposites.'

Tyrwhitt found a difficulty in the passage and proposed to read with the eighth quarto 'Daring and opposite.' But the text means simply that Richard is everywhere challenging an opponent to every danger in the chances of battle.

5. *the throat of death.* So in iv. 4. 2, 'the mouth of death.'

7. *A horse! a horse!* In the old play of The True Tragedie of Richard the Third, almost the only line having anything in common with Shakespeare is Richard's exclamation, 'A horse, a horse, a fresh horse.'

9, 10. Compare, but rather for the sake of contrast, Macbeth, v. 7. 1, 2:

> 'They have tied me to a stake: I cannot fly,
> But, bear-like, I must fight the course.'

10. *die* is the true reading, as is shown by the word 'cast' in the previous line. The quartos have 'day.'

Scene V.

3. *acquit*, acquitted. Verbs ending in a dental frequently drop the participial termination -ed.

5. *this long-usurped royalty.* All the quartos after the first read 'roialties' while they retain 'this.' The folios in addition changed 'this' to 'these.' 'When the lord Stanley sawe the good will and gratuite of the people he toke the crowne of kynge Richard which was founde amongest the spoyle in the felde, and set it on theerles hed.' (Hall, p. 420.) Tradition relates that it was found in a hawthorn bush, and in Henry the Seventh's Chapel 'the stained-glass retains the emblem of the same crown hanging on the green bush in the fields of Leicestershire.' (Stanley, Memorials of Westminster Abbey, p. 159.)

13, 14. 'Of the nobilitie were slayne Ihon Duke of Norfolke . . . There were slayne besyde hym Water lorde Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Rychard Ratclyffe, and Robert Brakenburie Lieutenant of the Tower and not many gentlemen mo . . . On therle of Richmonds part were slain scace one hundred persones, amongest whome the pryncipall was Sir William Brandon his standard bearer.' (Hall. p. 419.)

18. See note on iv. 4. 40.

21, 22. *Smile heaven . . . That long have frown'd*, &c. 'Heaven' is used as a plural, just as in Hamlet, iii. 4. 173:

'But heaven hath pleased it so . . .
That I must be their scourge and minister.'

Compare iv. 4. 71.

25, 26. In the Third Part of Henry VI among the characters introduced are 'A Son that has killed his father' and 'A Father that has killed his son.' See 3 Henry VI, ii. 5. 55 &c.

35. *Abate*, dull, blunt; literally to beat down (Fr. *abba'tre*). Hence generally, to weaken, diminish the force of anything. Compare 2 Henry IV, i. 1. 117:

'For from his metal was his party steel'd;
Which once in him abated, all the rest
Turn'd on themselves, like dull and heavy lead.'

36. *reduce*, bring back. See ii. 2. 68, and Henry V, v. 2. 63:

'Which to reduce into our former favour
You are assembled.'

OCT 15 1928

LENOX LIBR

Bancroft Collection
Purchased in 1893.